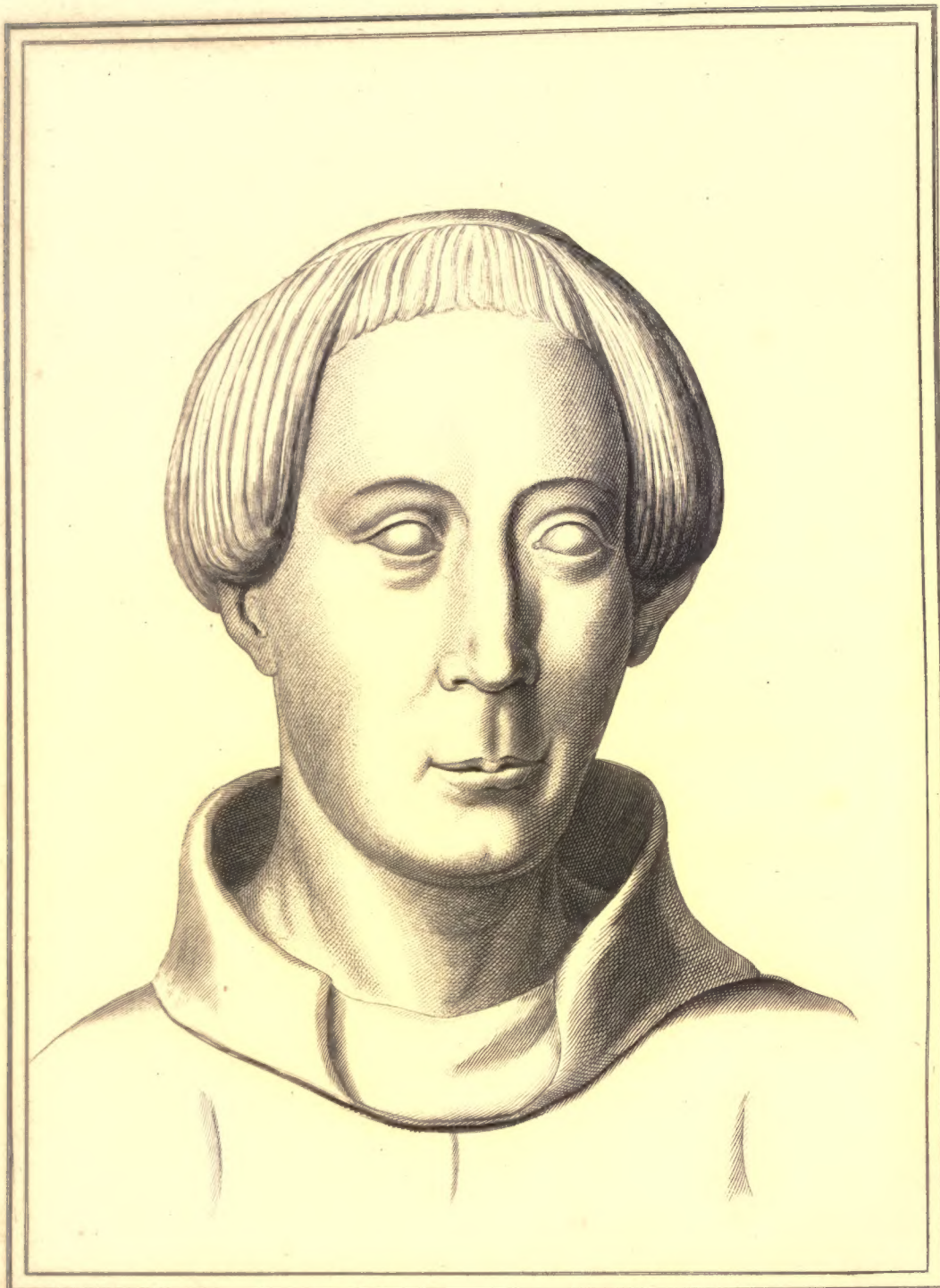


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SYLVESTER GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

Published 1 March 1866 by William Miller, Albemarle Street, London.

THE
ITINERARY
OF
ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN
THROUGH WALES,

A. D. MCLXXXVIII.

BY
GIRALDUS DE BARRI;

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH VIEWS,
ANNOTATIONS, AND A LIFE OF GIRALDUS,

BY
SIR RICHARD COLT HOARE, BART.

F. R. S. F. A. S.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

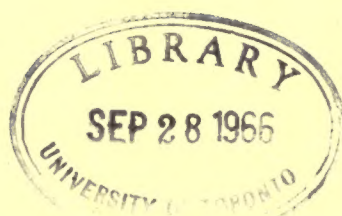
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1806.



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TO THE HISTORIAN, WHOSE STUDIES MAY LEAD
HIM TO A DUE CONSIDERATION OF THE ANNALS
OF CAMBRIA;

TO THE ANTIQUARIAN, WHOSE ZEAL MAY INDUCE
HIM TO EXAMINE AND RECORD THE BRITISH
AND ROMAN REMAINS WITH WHICH THE PRIN-
CIPALITY OF WALES ABOUNDS;

TO THE ARTIST, WHO, IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE
TRIADS, HAS AN EYE THAT CAN SEE NATURE; A
HEART THAT CAN FEEL NATURE; AND A RESO-
LUTION THAT DARES FOLLOW NATURE;

AND MORE PARTICULARLY TO THE SOCIETY OF
BRITISH ANTIQUARIANS, WHOSE LABOURS ARE
SO SUCCESSFULLY EMPLOYED IN THE INVESTI-
GATION OF OUR NATIONAL ANTIQUITIES;

THESE VOLUMES

ARE

RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED.

THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE

JANUARY 18, 1894.
REPORT OF THE
COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SENATE
MAY 1, 1893.

ALBANY:

W. H. BROWN,
PRINTERS.

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THE
EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THIS curious Itinerary of Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury through Wales, written by Giraldus de Barri, at so remote a period, and on so memorable an occasion, cannot be dedicated more appropriately than to a Society, whose united labours have for many years been so successfully employed in the investigation of British topography and antiquities.

The first Edition of this Itinerary, with the Description of Wales, was printed at London by Edmund Bollifant, A. D. 1585, in one small duodecimo volume. They were afterwards reprinted amongst other historical tracts in a folio volume, entitled, *Anglica, Hibernica, Normannica, Cambrica*, at Frankfort, A. D. 1602, and edited by the celebrated antiquarian William Camden; but the second book *De Illaudabilibus Walliæ*,

which is evidently a continuation of the first, seems to have escaped the notice of the editors of each of these editions. This, with many other interesting works of Giraldus, was printed by Warton A. D. 1691, in his *Anglia Sacra*.

No complete collection having ever been made of the writings of Giraldus respecting Wales, I have been induced to reprint the Latin edition of his *Itinerary*, and *Description of Wales*, with the addition of the *Book* that was wanting in each of the former editions.

My friend Mr. Wyndham, who first called the attention of the public to the various beauties and antiquities of Wales, was the first also (as a tourist) who took notice of Giraldus. For many successive years he has been my companion through the Principality; and I found him so entertaining, (though frequently so eccentric,) that I resolved to take him as my guide, and to follow him and his crusaders step by step throughout their whole expedition.* His descriptions are in general very accurate, and his topographical remarks just; his narrative is interspersed

* I have invariably followed the crusaders throughout their whole journey; and, with a very few exceptions, have visited every place mentioned by Giraldus, in his *Itinerary*.

with many interesting historical facts and anecdotes; and his fabulous stories and miracles, when we consider the age of bigotry and superstition in which they were recounted and credited, will, in these more enlightened days, excite rather our laughter than surprise.

To the modern tourist it may be some satisfaction to know the manners, architecture, and situation of Wales six hundred years ago; and, notwithstanding the continual state of warfare in which this unhappy country was engaged for so many centuries, he will find that time has spared a sufficient portion of its once renowned fortresses and hallowed sanctuaries, to render it still interesting to the artist and historian. The antiquarian who would wish to search more deeply into the early records of British antiquity, will find an ample, and, I may add, an unexplored field open to him, in the investigation of the numerous cairns, cromlechs, and military earthen works, with which every part of the Principality abounds.

Wales has of late years become the fashionable tour of the man of fortune, and the more instructive one of the artist: numerous volumes have been published

respecting this country, yet containing no new anecdotes ; no fresh information ; a mere repetition of the same tale.^b Neither has the public profited more by the pencil of the artist than by the pen of the author ; for if I except the views engraved some years ago by Mr. Paul Sandby in aquatinta, and a few detached subjects by other engravers, we have no tolerable memorial of the many fine specimens of ecclesiastical and military architecture, which still continue to adorn the Principality.

^b No printed tours should be implicitly followed as guides ; the traveller should see with his own eyes, and remark from his own observation ; even the very object, the very essence, and the chief pleasure of travelling, are, in a great measure, lost, by following paths already trodden, tracks already beaten : “ *Nova res agatur ;*” let new matter be investigated, new scenes be explored ; new historical facts and traditions be confirmed ; but, above all things, let the tourist bear in mind this text of Horace—

“ Quod verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum.”

Let truth direct the pen of history, and accuracy that of description ; let him not (as some modern tourists have done) mistake Bangor in *Flintshire*, for Bangor in *Caernarvonshire* ; let him not transfer the tomb of King Ingo from *Sweden*, to the mountainous regions of *Merionethshire*, and place it at *Harlech* : neither let him transform the celebrated Saint of *Caerleon*, *Aaron*, into the heathen deity, *Ammon*. Such inaccuracies are unpardonable in a class of authors whose duty it is to *instruct* as well as *amuse* their readers, by the detail of their journies.

I am happy, however, to find that the spirit of topographical enquiry has traversed the Severn and the Wye, and that native Cambrians^c have at last directed their attention and researches towards the history and antiquities of their own country; for no one but a native can do it proper justice: few countries abound so much in traditionary history as Wales, and much historical fact may be deduced from these traditions, however apparently clothed in the habit of fiction and romance: the name of each individual place, river, mountain, and, I might almost add, each field, has its significant meaning; and I know of nothing which contributes more to throw light on the ancient history of Cambria, than the names of places judiciously investigated, and not too fancifully etymologized.

The northern district of Wales has fortunately found a Pennant^d to describe its beauties, investigate its

^c Mr. Theophilus Jones, of Brecknock, has just published the first volume of his History of Brecknockshire; and my ingenious and well informed friend, Mr. Richard Fenton, is preparing for the press an historical account of Pembrokeshire; and purposes, if health and success prosper his literary undertaking, to continue his researches through the remainder of South Wales.

^d Mr. Pennant's style of writing has always appeared to me the most desirable and satisfactory for a tourist author to adopt; as avoiding the dull monotony of a county history, and uniting, under the form

antiquities, and record its history and genealogies; but the southern part of Wales, a country no less interesting in its annals, nor less ennobled by illustrious families; no less fertile in picturesque scenery, nor less dignified by its proud remains of baronial grandeur, still remains, in a great measure, unknown.

In the Work which I now present to the public, I had a fixed object in view, and a certain line traced out for my pursuit, viz. to illustrate by annotations every passage of my author, relating either to the history or topography of Cambria.* To render this Itinerary more acceptable to the modern Tourist, I have endeavoured to introduce as much new matter as (without unnecessary digression) the nature of the subject would admit. In my Views, I have carefully selected those which have not before been engraved; and, at the same time that I sincerely lament the loss of the worthy and able artist who executed them, Mr. Byrne; I flatter myself that they will prove an honourable and lasting record of his abilities.

of a journal, the pleasing ingredients of history, biography, and topography.

* In my quotations drawn from the Welsh Chronicle, I have consulted the black letter edition printed in 1584. Much of the most interesting matter has been omitted in the two subsequent editions, printed in 1697 and 1774, and the orthography is full of errors.

I am fully sensible of the great disadvantages under which every writer labours who employs his pen in the description of a country, with whose language he is unacquainted; but the alacrity with which the natives of Cambria have answered my enquiries, and promoted my literary researches, has relieved me from many difficulties, and demands my sincere thanks and warmest acknowledgments; for, without their kind assistance, many an interesting passage of my Guide and Author must have remained unexplained.

RICHARD COLT HOARE.

Stourhead, 1st March, 1806.

L I F E

OF

G I R A L D U S D E B A R R I .

VOL. 1.

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John Cortet del.

James Baire sculp.

STATUE OF SILV. GIBALLUS CAMBRENSIS

Printed by M. P. P. & W. M. P. at the Office of the London Directory, 10, Abchurch Lane, London.

L I F E
OF
GIRALDUS DE BARRI.

GIRALDUS DE BARRI, distinguished by the name of Cambrensis, or the Cambrian, was descended from an illustrious lineage, being the fourth son of William de Barri, a person of high distinction, by Angharad, daughter of Nest, who was the daughter of Rhys ap Theodor Prince of South Wales. He was born about the year 1146,* at the castle of Manorbeer^b in Pembrokeshire, and at a very early age shewed strong marks of literary talents, and an earnest desire to dedicate himself to offices of religion. Whilst his brothers and their companions amused themselves with tracing fanciful figures on the sands, he was occupied in drawing churches and monasteries. His father, admiring these marks of his youthful propensity, predicted his future progress in learning, decided in his own mind on giving him the advantages of a learned education,

* I have differed from some other biographers, and the author of the chronology of the life of Giraldus, in fixing the year of his birth in 1146, instead of 1150. Warton, in his preface to the *Anglia Sacra*, quotes the authority of Giraldus himself, who in his book, *de Instructione Principis*, says, that in his *twentieth year* he was pursuing his studies at Paris, at the very time when Philip Augustus was born, viz. A. D. 1166.

^b A particular account of this castle will be found in Chapter XII. Book I,

and in joke used to call him his little bishop. At a time when the country was alarmed by an hostile invasion, and the youths of the castle rushed forth to arms, the boy Giraldus burst into tears, and requested to be carried into the church as a place of safety; thus, to use his own words, "with a wonderful foresight for his age, declaring the peace and privileges of the house of God." All those who heard him were much astonished that he should expect to find more security in a retired church, than in a castle strongly fortified, and well garrisoned with soldiers.

Associating with his brothers and their companions, who were educated in the military profession, Giraldus had little opportunity of applying his mind to study, until his uncle, David Fitzgerald Bishop of Saint David's, hearing of his character and natural inclination, drew him from the paternal roof, and undertook the care of his future education. He seems, however, at first to have made but little progress; for two masters to whom he was consigned, repeatedly jeered him for his slowness and ignorance in declining the Latin words *durus*, *durior*, *durissimus*, and *stultus*, *stultior*, *stultissimus*. These rebukes made so considerable an impression on the young scholar, that, actuated more by a sense of shame, than by discipline, he applied with such assiduity to his literary pursuits that he soon surpassed all his fellow students. To complete his education, he went to Paris, where he remained for three years, gave lectures on rhetoric and the belles lettres, and was pointed out by the doctors of the university as a pattern to the young men of his age.

On returning to England, about the year 1172, he entered into holy orders; and having obtained preferment both in England

and Wales, and thinking himself "*non sibi sed patriæ natus*," he devoted his whole mind and abilities to the public good, and strenuously endeavoured to promote the interests of his church. Observing, however, that, owing to the negligence of the prelates of the diocese of Saint David's (most particularly in the districts of Pembroke and Cardigan), the church did not receive its dues, and that the Welsh paid no tythes either in wool or cheese; he went to Canterbury, and having stated his complaints to Richard the Archbishop, was appointed his legate in Wales, for the purpose of rectifying these and other abuses. He executed this commission with great spirit and success; and excommunicated, without distinction, those who refused to pay their tythes. All but the men of Ros, or the Flemings,^c readily paid their tenths, and in revenge for their non-compliance, the Welsh plundered their farms, and took away their sheep. Amongst those who resisted the demands of the clergy, was one William Karquit, governor of the province of Pembroke, who being jealous of the newly acquired office of Giraldus, took away forcibly from the priory at Pembroke eight yoke of oxen, and drove them to his own castle. Three times he was requested to restore them, and as often refused; at last, being threatened with excommunication, he replied "The Legate may, indeed, be proud and malicious, but I think him not bold enough to excommunicate the constable of the king in his own castle." He was then informed, that on hearing the bells of the monastery sound three times, he might rest assured that the sentence of excommunication had been passed. When the messenger returned, the monks and clergy were summoned together; the Legate in the most solemn

^c An account of the Flemings may be found in Chapter XI. Book I.

manner, passed sentence of excommunication, and the bells (as is usual on similar occasions) confirmed it by their peals.

He likewise attempted to reform the morals of the clergy, and was peculiarly severe against all priests who had wives, calling them concubines, and insisted upon their dismissal. On entering the diocese of Saint David's in the character of legate, he found at Brecknock an old archdeacon cohabiting publicly with his concubine. Mild entreaties to remove her from his house being ineffectual, he endeavoured by his own authority, sanctioned by the primate, to gain the desired end; but his remonstrances being answered by insolent reflections on the Archbishop, Giraldus immediately suspended him from his ecclesiastical benefices, and delivered up to the Archbishop (whom he had so contumeliously treated, and whose authority he had spurned) both his archdeaconry and prebendary. Having completed his legation, he visited the Archbishop in company with the Bishop of Saint David's, who, at the request of the former, promoted Giraldus to the vacant preferment, assigning to the old incumbent a sufficient maintenance for the remainder of his life.

In discharging the duties of his new dignity of archdeacon, he acted with great rigour, and was involved in frequent disputes and quarrels, in which, according to his own account, he was always in the right, and always victorious. He had an early opportunity of asserting, in a very singular manner, the dignity of his own archdeaconry, as well as that of the metropolitan see of Saint David's. Having been settled only a few days in his residence at Landeu,^d

^d This residence of Giraldus has been described, Chapter II. Book I. as also the districts of Melyenith and Elven, in the Annotations on the First Chapter of the Itinerary.

near Brecknock, after a very laborious journey he had taken to correct the abuses that prevailed in the provinces of Melyenith and Elven, he was surprised by the appearance of two clergymen, sent in a great hurry by the dean and chapter of that district, to inform him that Adam Bishop of Saint Asaph, was coming to dedicate the church of Keri,^e (which was situated on the confines of the two bishoprics, but of old had appertained to that of Saint David's), and that unless the archdeacon appeared there in person, nothing would prevent his taking possession of that church, or even the entire province; and they intimated likewise, that if no obstacles intervened, he intended to seize the whole territory between the rivers Wye and Severn, comprehending the districts of Melyenith and Elven. However harassed by his late expeditions, and dissuaded by his former companions and followers, who, more through fear of danger than fatigue, refused to accompany him; he, nevertheless, immediately proceeded on his journey towards the church of Keri. On the Saturday he dispatched messengers to two princes of that country, Eineon Clyd and Cadwalhon, requesting them to send some trusty men of their families, provided with horses and arms, to assist him (if necessity required) in asserting the rights of the church of Saint David, as the Bishop of Saint Asaph was reported to be attended by a strong body of men from Powys: he slept that night at Llanbist,^f and on coming to Keri early on Sunday morning, found that two of the clergy, and partizans of the bishop, had concealed the keys of the church: these being at length found, the

^e Keri is a pretty little village in Montgomeryshire, on the road between Bishop's Castle and Newtown.

^f A village in Radnorshire, between Builth and Keri.

archdeacon entered the church, and, having ordered the bells to be rung, as a token of possession, he celebrated mass with great solemnity. In the mean time messengers arrived from the bishop, ordering preparations to be made for the dedication of the church. Mass being concluded, the archdeacon sent some of his clergy, attended by the dean of the province, to inform the bishop, "That if he came to Keri as a neighbour and a friend, he would receive him with every mark of hospitality; but if otherwise, he desired him not to proceed." The bishop returned for answer, "That he was coming in his professional capacity as bishop of the diocese, to perform his duty in the dedication of the church." The archdeacon and his clergy met the bishop at the entrance to the church-yard, where a long dispute arose about the matter in question, and each asserted their respective rights to the church of Keri. To enforce his claims the more, the bishop dismounted from his horse, placed his mitre on his head, and taking up his pastoral staff, walked with his attendants towards the church. The archdeacon proceeded to meet him, accompanied by his clergy, dressed in their surplices and sacerdotal robes, who, with lighted tapers and up-raised crucifix, came forth from the church in processional form: at length each began to excommunicate the other; but the archdeacon having ordered the bells to be rung three times, as the usual confirmation of the sentence, the bishop and his train mounted their horses, and made a precipitate retreat, followed by a great mob, and pelted with clods of earth and stones. This resolute conduct of the archdeacon gained him the approbation of all present, and even of the bishop himself, who was a fellow-student with him at Paris.

The controversy at Keri being thus happily terminated, Giraldus

went to the king at Northampton, and related what had passed between him and the Bishop of Saint Asaph, who claimed a parish belonging to the church of Saint David, and which, in fact, at that time (the see being vacant) had lapsed to the crown. The king commended the archdeacon's conduct in resisting the claims of the bishop, and excited a general laughter by telling the story to his courtiers who were at that time assembled.

Another circumstance will prove his steadiness in the perseverance of his religious duties. Some of his parishioners at Nangles expected absolution on a certain day from the sentence of excommunication that had been passed upon them, for having combined with the men of Rôs in refusing the demand of tenths due to the church. On the preceding night he slept at Carew:^h the following day was so boisterous and stormy that the Bishop of Saint David's, who accompanied him, strongly advised Giraldus to postpone his journey; but he replied, "that, on such an occasion, delays would be dangerous; for those who had been excommunicated were expecting absolution, and had promised amendment:" and added, "that when business demanded attention, it was unmanly to watch the state of the weather upon dry land; and that such a precaution was only allowable to those who had a sea voyage to undertake."ⁱ

On the death of his uncle, David Fitz-Gerald, the canons of Saint

^h A village in Pembrokeshire, on the extreme point of the southern branch of Milford Haven, of which Giraldus had the living.

^h A village in Pembrokeshire, on a small branch of Milford Haven, containing many objects worthy of note, viz. the ruins of a fine castle, a British cross in good preservation, and several ancient monuments within its church.

ⁱ "Quod non erat animi virilis auram ad agenda vel aggredienda negotia, aut temporis tranquillitatem in terris observare; solum enim mare transeuntibus tolerabilem esse observantiam talem."

David's met in council, and, after a long debate, proclaimed Giraldus his successor; but the archdeacon thinking this election made too hastily and inconsiderately, and not according to the usual forms, went on the following morning to the chapter, and, contrary to the advice of all who were present, renounced the episcopal honours that had been offered to him: for it was not customary to proceed on a new election until the death of the former bishop had been publicly announced, and a previous application made to the king, or his justiciary, and the royal assent obtained. The chapter however persisted in their choice, which so highly displeased King Henry, that he threatened to dispossess them of their lands and revenues. He summoned a council, and submitted the case to the consideration of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, desiring them to recommend a fit person to fill the vacant see: they unanimously recommended Giraldus, as a man of learning and spirit: but the king objected, saying, "That it was neither expedient or necessary to elect too upright or active a man to the vacant see of Saint David's, as such a choice might prove detrimental to the cathedral church of Canterbury, or even to the crown of England." *

At the dissolution of the council, the king confessed to the archbishop, and to a few of his confidential servants, that although he entertained a very high opinion of the talents and integrity of Giraldus, yet he thought it not safe to place a person so nearly related to Prince Rhys, and to almost all the nobility of Wales, at the head

* Nec Regi nec Archiepiscopo opus est aut expediens, nimis probum aut strenuum, nè vel Angliæ Corona, vel Cantix Cathedra detrimentum sentiat, in Ecclesiâ Sancti David Episcopum esse.

of the see of Saint David's; and that the pride and pretensions of the Welsh would be heightened by the promotion of so able, worthy, and resolute a man. When this conversation was repeated to Giraldus by Roger Bishop of Worcester, he exclaimed, "That such a public testimony, and given in such a place of audience, was more honourable to him than the best bishopric." Giraldus, unwilling to persist in opposition to the will of the king, and the canons wishing not to run the risk of losing their benefices, abandoned their claims, and a new election was made in the presence of the king at Winchester, when Peter de Leia, a monk of the Order of Clugny, and prior of the monastery of Wenloch in Shropshire, was unanimously chosen, at the recommendation of the king, and took possession of the episcopal see of Saint David's.¹

At the conclusion of this business Giraldus returned to Paris, with a view of applying himself to the study of belles lettres; and, to use his own expression, "to raise the walls of the canon law on the foundation of the arts and literature."^m

He dwells with great rapture, and with no inconsiderable share of vanity, on the prodigious fame which he acquired by his eloquent declamation in the schools, and speaks of the crowded audiences of the doctors and scholars, who were unable to decide, whether the sweetness of his voice, the beauty of his language, or the force

¹ "Post multas itaque comminationes, et literarum quoque Regis super spoliandis canonicis, si non desisterent, emissiones, tandem post plurimas in Angliam vocationes et vexationes, apud Wintoniam convocati et coacti in castello et camerâ Regis coràm lecto ipsius, monachum quendam sibi ex parte Regis oblatum et nominatum, quam omnibus et singulis prorsus ignotum, Priorem sc. de Weneloc nomine Petrum, timore compulsi tremulis vocibus elegerunt."

^m Super artium et literaturæ fundamentum legum et canonum parietes in altum erigere.

of his arguments, were most worthy of admiration: they were so fascinated, he adds, with his oratory, that they hung, as it were, suspended on his mouth, and were never fatigued with the most prolix or tedious discourse.^a

After a long and studious residence at Paris, Giraldus returned to England; and on his journey through Flanders was present at a tournament given in the city of Arras, by Philip Count of Flanders. Landing safely in England, he proceeded to Canterbury, where, by invitation, he dined with the prior and monks of that place. On this occasion he takes an opportunity of inveighing severely against their luxurious mode of living: he says, "Their tables abounded with numerous and savoury dishes, and with such a variety of the choicest wines, that ale and beer were not allowed to be introduced."^o

From Canterbury he continued his journey to London, and paid a visit to Richard the Archbishop of that see, at his villa, where he was entertained with gratifying marks of hospitality. On the following morning he received advice by a messenger, that a separa-

^a "Tantâ nempe verborum dulcedine ducti fuerant et deliniti, ut dicentis ab ore tanquam penduli et suspensi longo licet eloquio et prolixo," &c.

^o De ferculis et eorum numerositate quid dicam? quia sedecim aut plura per ordinem, ne præter ordinem dicatur, sunt apposita valdè sumptuosa. Ad ultimum quoque loco generalis olera per omnes mensas sunt allata, sed parum gustata. Tot enim videas piscium genera, assa quidem et elixa, farta et frixa, tot ovis et pipere cibaria cocorum arte confecta, tot sapes et salsamenta ad gulam irritandam et appetitum excitandum eorundem arte composita. Ad hæc etiam in tantâ abundantia vinum hic videas et cicèram pigmentum, et claretum, mustum et medonem atque moretum et omne quod inebriare potest; adeo ut cerevisia, qualis in Angliâ fieri solet optima et præcipuè in Cantiâ, locum inter cætera non haberet. Sed hoc ibi cerevisia inter pocula, quod olus inter fercula.

tion was on the point of taking place between his sister and her husband, who resided in the diocese of Winchester ; upon which he most earnestly beseeched the archbishop to permit him to make use of his authority in staying the proceedings, and to put no bar to a reconciliation, provided he could by any means effect it. Having obtained the archbishop's consent, as well as letters, he hastened to Southwark, where he found a numerous chapter assembled, and his sister and her husband standing before Richard Toclif Bishop of Winchester, in expectation of the divorce, which was on the point of being granted. The bishop instantly recognized the archdeacon, and, being much surprised at the sudden appearance of a person whom he imagined at that time to have been in France, embraced him, and placed him at his side. When Giraldus presented to him the official letters of the archbishop, he courteously replied—" That if the archdeacon had appeared alone, and unbacked by such high authority, he would have paid a ready and willing attention to his petition." By his unexpected arrival the chapter was dissolved, and, by his friendly interference, a perfect reconciliation took place between his sister and her husband.

On his return to Wales he found the diocese of Saint David's in a state of great confusion, the bishop (Peter de Leia) having been obliged to quit his episcopal residence, owing to some disputes that had arisen between him and the Welsh. By the advice of the archbishop, Giraldus was appointed administrator of all the spiritual and temporal concerns of the church, which he conducted with great prudence and moderation for a considerable time, until the bishop, who had retired to some convent in England,

very improperly interfered at Saint David's, by suspending some persons and excommunicating others, without any previous trial; upon which Giraldus resigned the ecclesiastical charge committed to him, and, by the archbishop's interest, caused the sentences of suspension and excommunication which had been so unjustly passed, to be annulled. He was so irritated at the bishop's conduct, that at first he determined, by an accusation before the court of Rome, to procure his deposition; but, by the interference of their mutual friends, peace was at length re-established between them, and the archdeacon's lands at Landeu and Mathrey were restored to him.

The fame of Giraldus increasing daily, he was induced by King Henry the Second to reside at the court, where he continued for some time, though, he says, with great reluctance; the life he there led being ill adapted to a studious and literary man like himself. About this period he was deputed as a pacificator to Wales, and after having effectually fulfilled his commission, returned to court, where he was graciously received by the king, who appointed him his chaplain, and made him repeated promises of high preferment in the church, which, however, were never carried into execution. Henry strongly commended him in council, and testified the greatest approbation of his good conduct, modesty, and fidelity; saying "That had he not been born in Wales, and so nearly allied to its princes and chieftains, and especially to Prince Rhys, he would have loaded him with ecclesiastical benefices, and preferred him to the highest honours."

It happened about this time that, by an order from the king, Rhys ap Gruffydh was summoned to hold a conference with

Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ranulf de Glanville, Chief Justice of England, at Hereford. When seated at dinner in the house of William de Vere Bishop of that see, and Walter, son of Robert, a noble baron, both of whom were descended from the family of Clare; Giraldus, the archdeacon, approached the table, and standing before them, thus facetiously addressed himself to Prince Rhys: "You may congratulate yourself, Rhys, on being now seated between two of the Clare family, and whose inheritance you possess:" for at that time he held all Cardiganshire, which he had recovered from Roger Earl of Clare. Rhys, a man of excellent understanding, and particularly ready at an answer, immediately replied "It is indeed true, that for a considerable length of time we were deprived of our inheritance by the Clares; but as it was our fate to be losers, we had at least the satisfaction of being dispossessed of it by noble and illustrious personages, not by the hands of an idle and obscure people." The bishop, desirous of returning the compliment to Prince Rhys, replied "And we also, since it has been decreed that we should lose the possession of those territories, are well pleased that so noble and upright a prince as Rhys should be at this time lord over them."

In the year 1185 he was appointed by King Henry preceptor to his son John, whom he accompanied to Ireland as secretary, and in that situation gave such satisfaction, that the prince offered him the Irish bishoprics of Fernes and Leighelin, and on his refusing each of them separately, the prince proposed to consolidate them into one, provided he would accept them; but to this proposal Giraldus replied, "If I could improve and exalt the church of Ireland, I would willingly accept the proffered honour; but since that cannot

be expected, I had rather continue a private person, than be raised to a high station in which I can be of no service." He likewise refused at this or a subsequent period the archbishopric of Cashel. During his residence in Ireland he was assiduous in collecting materials for his two works, the "*Topography*," and "*Conquest of Ireland*;" and when John after some months residence in that country, returned to England, Giraldus still continued there to complete and digest his collections. He likewise distinguished himself greatly by preaching before the Archbishop of Dublin; and in his discourses he strongly recommended sobriety, abstinence, and continence, and as usual inveighed bitterly against the dissolute lives of the clergy. On his return to England, he was indefatigable in composing, revising, and correcting, his work on the Topography of Ireland; and when finished, was anxious to submit it to the public. "Being desirous," he says, "not to put a lighted candle under a bushel, but to place it in a candlestick, where it might give light, I determined to recite my work before a public audience at Oxford, where the clergy were most distinguished for their talents and learning. I accordingly recited for three successive days the three chapters into which the book is divided. On the first day, I entertained with hospitality the poor people of the town; on the second, the doctors of the different professions, and the students of the greatest celebrity; and on the third, the remainder of the scholars, with the burghers and militia of the city. Such a magnificent and sumptuous festival revived the ancient times of classic poetry, and was wholly unknown in England either in the past or present age." ^p

^p Sumptuosa quidem res et nobilis; quia renovata sunt quodammodo autentica et

In the year 1187, King Henry with many of his nobility, engaged themselves in the crusading expedition, which at that time was preparing throughout Europe, and Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, was sent on this holy and enthusiastic mission into Wales; Ranulphus de Glanville, chief justice of the realm, accompanied him, and at Radnor they were met by Rhys ap Gruffydh, and by many illustrious chieftains of the country. The archbishop explained to them, and the multitude, the object of his mission, and Giraldus was the first person who took the cross; Peter de Leia Bishop of Saint David's, and many others, followed his example, and enlisted themselves under the consecrated banners. The archbishop and archdeacon were equally strenuous in their endeavours to gain proselytes; but the oratory of the latter prevailed more successfully than the high name and authority of the former. The effect produced by his discourse at Haverford was so great, that the archbishop oftentimes during his progress confessed that he never before on one day was witness to so much shedding of tears. At the conclusion of the sermon, near the bridge of Aberteivi, or Cardigan, where Prince Rhys, and a numerous concourse of people attended, a person by the name of John Spang thus addressed the prince: "You ought, indeed, to entertain a high opinion of this archdeacon, your son-in-law, for he hath this day enlisted a hundred men or more in the holy cause; and if he had spoken to the people in the Welsh language, I doubt if even one out of the whole number of your attendants had remained unenlisted." Giraldus compares the effect of his exhortations to those made by

antiqua in hoc facto poetarum tempora; nec rem similem in Angliâ factam vel præsens ætas vel ulla recolit antiquitas.

Saint Bernard, who preached the word of God to the Germans in the French tongue, and miraculously converted his hearers, although they neither understood a word of what he uttered, nor even required an interpretation. He insinuates that God assisted his pious endeavours, and relates a saying of some of his auditors, who at the conclusion of his discourse thus addressed him: "The Holy Spirit hath this day truly manifested relief in your mouth." King John is also said to have bitterly reproached Giraldus for draining his county of Pembroke of men, by persuading such numbers to take the cross and repair to the holy land. But although thus zealous and successful in preaching the cause of the crusade; yet on the death of King Henry, at whose instance he had taken the cross, he applied to the Cardinal Legate, John of Anagni, on behalf of himself and Peter de Leia Bishop of Saint David's, for absolution from the vows which each had made to go to the holy land; and which they obtained on the plea of age and poverty, but on condition that they should attend to the reparation of the cathedral church at Saint David's, and give every assistance in their power to the crusaders who undertook the journey to Jerusalem.¹

To the enthusiastic zeal, that once animated the breast of the archdeacon, we owe the present Itinerary through Wales, of which a translation is now, for the first time, submitted to the public, and which, amidst a multitude of idle stories and monkish legends,

¹ "Præfatos quoque episcopum et archidiaconum propter ætatis defectum vel paupertatem à prætaxato itinere Jerosolimitano, auctoritate nobis concessâ sub eâdem dispensatione duximus absolvendos, et penitus denuntiamus absolutos, istâ tamen conditione, quòd Jerosolimam accedentibus auxilium præbeant et adjutorium."

contains many curious and interesting particulars relative to the topography and history of that principality.

During this journey Giraldus gained the good graces of the archbishop: that prelate highly praised his works, and strongly recommended him to the king; but Henry persisted in his resolution of not advancing him to any high preferment in the church.

In the year 1189, Giraldus attended King Henry on his military expedition into France, as did also Baldwin the archbishop, and Ranulph Glanville the justiciary. On his return into England after the death of that monarch, which took place in the same year, the following adventure befell him, which he used frequently to relate when the various fortuitous events that had happened to him became the subject of conversation. Finding on his arrival at Dieppe, the wind unfavourable for his passage, he agreed with the soldiers his companions, to leave their baggage behind them at that place, and to hasten their journey towards the sea-coast of Flanders, hoping by that means to effect a more speedy passage. The king, with some of his nobility, and many other persons, had fallen a sacrifice to the unhealthiness of the climate, and all the attendants of the archdeacon (one boy excepted) had either returned home ill, or had died abroad. Leaving this boy with his horses and luggage at Dieppe, he hired a stranger, whom he had never seen before, as his valet, and entrusted him with the care of all his valuables. In the morning, having crossed the river at Dieppe, and ascended a hill from whence they had a prospect of the town and harbour; according to the custom of travellers they began to inquire of each other if they had left nothing behind them; upon which Giraldus found his new servant missing. Having waited for him a long time,

but in vain; the archdeacon became uneasy, because, as a stranger, he could place no confidence in him; and he recollected that the man had said, that if he did not engage in his service, he should go to his brother in Hungary. The soldiers advised Giraldus to go back to Dieppe or Rouen, where he had first seen him; but despairing of ever finding him again if he had absconded, he could not be prevailed upon to return. His companions hearing that besides the sum of forty marks in gold and silver, and a good saddle-horse, the servant had the charge of all the archdeacon's clothes, a bag of important letters from Earl Richard, and the unpublished Journal of his Itinerary through Wales, still more strenuously urged his return; but the archdeacon could not be persuaded to leave them. Arriving at the town of Abbeville, Giraldus retired to his apartment, reflecting seriously on the adventure which had happened; and he used to say, that on this occasion he had three motives of regret:

First—The loss of his money was something, but moderate when compared with his other losses; for money was oftentimes lost, and oftentimes recovered.

Second—The loss of the earl's letters, and of his own appointment as Legate in Wales, was still greater; but as he knew the purport of them, he could by similar letters from the justiciary obtain some kind of redress.

Third—The loss of his journals was by far the most severe, and indeed irreparable, the book not being as yet published. "*Non edito, sed edendo.*"

After many melancholy reflections on the subject, he returned to his companions in the hall, where a boy came running in from

the market-place, inquiring what sort of a horse was that of the archdeacon's; having gained the necessary information, he said that he had seen a person riding such a horse laden with a large package, in the market-place, and inquiring for the archdeacon's lodgings. He was immediately sent for, and received with general satisfaction. Giraldus asked him, "If all was safe?" to which he answered, "Yes:" but the soldiers would not suffer him to explain the cause of his delay till after dinner, when he told them, that having crossed the river at Dieppe, he dismounted in order to tighten his luggage, when he found that a bag containing twenty marks or more had dropped, upon which he went back to seek it at the inn from whence he had set out; but his researches not being attended with success, he returned and crossed the river a third time, giving up all hopes of finding the package he had lost; when casting his eyes back on the pebbly shore which he had before passed, to his great surprise and joy he discovered the bag lying amongst the stones, rolled up in the state he had received it from his master, and untouched.

From this adventure Giraldus draws the following moral: "That God oftentimes inflicts with heavy tribulations those whom he loves and guides; and at the moment when they are in the greatest distress, shews himself propitious and near at hand."

Arriving safely on the coast of Flanders, they obtained a favourable passage, and the archdeacon hastened his journey to London, where he found the boy whom he had left with his baggage at Dieppe. Having delivered the letters of Earl Richard to the justiciary, he immediately proceeded into Wales, where he soon restored tranquillity to a country that had been much agitated by the death of

the late king. Shortly afterwards, the earl came to London, and was there crowned king : but his stay in England was not long, for soon after his coronation he returned into Normandy to meet Philip King of France, with whom he was engaged to undertake the crusading expedition to Jerusalem. Richard was so highly satisfied with the zeal and fidelity of Giraldus, that on his departure for the Holy Land, he appointed him coadjutor to William de Long Champ Bishop of Ely, in the regency of his kingdom. But Giraldus did not improve this favourable opportunity, for he refused the bishoprics of Bangor in North Wales, and Landaff in South Wales, alleging as a motive for this refusal, his unwillingness to accept any situation that would divert him from his studies ; but, by his own avowal, he rather declined these promotions, from the hopes of succeeding, on the death of the old and infirm incumbent, to the see of Saint David's. He records an anecdote of himself, alluding to his anxious desire to obtain that see, and to his repeated refusals of other bishoprics which had been offered to him. A priest, who was deranged in his mind, and who, following the court of the justiciary, was accustomed to amuse the young men by ludicrous and ridiculous sayings, feigned a conversation with Giraldus—" Master Giraldus, will you accept of the bishopric of Guiseford?" " No." " Will you accept the bishopric of Ossory?" " No." " The bishopric of Leighelin?" " No." " The archbishopric of Cashel?" " No." " But do you choose the bishopric of Saint David's?" then replying, with a loud and clamorous voice, " Yes!" he burst into a fit of laughter.

Finding that all the royal promises of preferment on his attaching himself to the court were ineffectual, and that his services had not met with their due reward, he determined to quit the busy and

tumultuous scene of life, and retire to some more tranquil situation, where he might prosecute his literary pursuits without interruption.

Having collected all his books, he proceeded on another journey to Paris; but hearing, on his arrival at the sea coast, that war had lately been rekindled between Philip King of France and Richard King of England, he altered his plans, and went to Lincoln, to study theology under William de Monte chancellor of that diocese, with whom he had formerly been acquainted at Paris. There he continued for the space of six years, prosecuting his studies with indefatigable ardour, and composing several of his literary works. During this period he was strongly advised (on the death of Peter de Leia Bishop of Saint David's, A. D. 1199) to solicit from the king, whose family he had most essentially served, the vacant mitre; but, unwilling to abandon the studious mode of life he had now adopted, he replied, "That a bishop should be sought after, not seek; and that as he had a sufficient competency, he would not, for any consideration, quit his present state of ease and tranquillity."^r

About the same time he gave a conspicuous proof of his charity and disinterestedness in selling his best garments to relieve the necessities of the poor at Lincoln, who had suffered severely from a scarcity of provisions *

^r Virum episcopalem non petere sed peti debere, et quoniam sufficebat ei quod habebat, à studio et statu optimo ac tranquillissimo, in quo tunc erat, ullatenus discedere nolebat.

* Accidit autem circiter eadem tempora fame ingruente in finibus illis validâ, cum archidiaconus in camerâ suâ more solito studiis indulgeret; audivit pauperes et inopes ad fores et fenestras hospitii sui clamantes et eleemosinarum beneficia postulantes. Quorum misertus incontinenti, cum respiceret penulas in palliis et capis suis, ac pellicia de peregrinis murium pellibus, nec non et cuniculorum perticis appensa; præcepit

On the death of Peter de Leia, the archdeacons and canons of St. David's, by the mandate of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded to nominate such persons as they thought fit to succeed to the vacant see; and they recommended the following:

Giraldus, Archdeacon of Brecknock,

Walter, Abbot of Saint Dogmaels,

Peter, Abbot of Whitland;

and to these they added Reginald Foliot, that they might not appear designedly to exclude an Englishman from the ecclesiastical honour, and concluding at the same time that he had little prospect of success.

The archbishop positively refused to accept the nomination of Giraldus for the same reasons alleged by King Henry on many former occasions; and partly on the same grounds he rejected the other two, as being natives of Wales. To supply their places, he proposed Martin, a Cistercian monk, and Geoffrey, Prior of Lanthoni; but the chapter persisted in their long-established right of nomination. King Richard was at this time abroad, and hearing of the dispute between the canons of Saint David's and the Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered a deputation of four members of the chapter to appear before him in Normandy, and receive his orders respecting the election of a bishop; but whilst these matters were in agitation, the king died.

Letters from the chapter of Saint David's, recommending Giraldus, were presented to his successor King John, and favourably received;

ut statim quicquid ibi de vario et griseo et cuniculis inventum fuerit, venderetur et in usus pauperum partiretur; quod et factum illico fuit. Ab illâ autem archidiaconus horâ penulis agninis contentus erat.

so much so, that the king ordered Giraldus to come before him with three or four canons of the church, that he might be duly elected bishop; but, unfortunately for the archdeacon, on the king's return to England, the all-powerful influence of the archbishop put a stop to the election. In a letter written about this time to Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, Giraldus complains bitterly of the ill treatment and vexation he had suffered from the court, and expresses a wish that he may be allowed to dedicate the remainder of his life to study and retirement.¹

"Hitherto," says our author, "I have unfortunately sacrificed too much time to fruitless ambition. Let me therefore be allowed to retire and indulge without further molestation my favourite pursuit of books and literature. Let others anxiously covet the high honours attached to a court, as I myself, labouring under the same vice, once did, and became an useless and unprofitable follower of it. Having more than sufficiently experienced the vicissitudes and vexations resulting from an attendance upon the high and mighty, I desire to be in that situation with respect to them, as if I had never been in their service. May the holy Father and merciful God grant, that, far from the cares and ambition of a court, which always wound, and never heal and satisfy the heart; and far also

¹ "Nimium temporis, unde mihi plùs dolendum est, ambitioni hactenùs et perditioni dedi. Igitùr latitare mihi et libris ac literis, quòd residuum est dierum, absque molestiâ liceat indulgere. Ambient igitur alii, curiam sequantur; sicut et ego quandoque vitio laborans eodem, curiæ sequela fui quamquam inutilis. Vices ergò potentum et vexationes satùs olim et plus quam satùs expertus, sic apud illos esse nunc cupio, quasi non essem. Det pius Pater, et misericors Deus, quatenus præteriti jacturam temporis redimendo, utcunque et deflendo, procul à curiæ curis et ambitionibus, quæ semper corda sauciant et nunquam satiant, nunquam sanant, popularique strepitu cuncto, dulci quiete modicum id quod restat ævi ducere valeam."

from the clamorous bustle of the world, by lamenting and redeeming my heavy loss of time, I may be able to pass the moderate remaining portion of my life in peaceful ease and tranquillity!"

After the repeated disappointments he had received in the attainment of his favourite preferment, and seeing there was little or no prospect of success, he turned his back upon the English court; and, after an absence of many years, revisited Saint David's, where he was received with the greatest joy, both by the clergy and the people. A convocation was again held for the election of a bishop, and the votes were unanimous in favour of Giraldus, who was earnestly desired to go immediately to the court of Rome, and there to assert the rights of the metropolitan see of Saint David's, and to procure a ratification of his own election.

On returning to Saint David's, after a short excursion into Ireland, he was informed that letters had been sent from the archbishop and justiciary to the canons of that church, summoning them to appear in England, and elect Geoffrey, Prior of Lanthoni, to the vacant see. After a mature and considerate deliberation, the chapter dispatched letters on the appointed day to the Bishops of London and Rochester (who during the absence of the archbishop abroad had been nominated his deputies), forbidding them to proceed in the election; and at the same time they sent other letters to the Prior of Lanthoni and his fraternity of monks, ordering them, as members of the church of Saint David, not to interfere in this election.

Giraldus having paid a visit to his brother, Philip de Barri, and explained to him the cause of his intended journey to Rome,

proceeded to the abbey of Stratflur^u in Cardiganshire, where he deposited his library of books: from thence he journeyed over the Ellennith mountains^w towards Cumhir,^x and entered England near Keri. He embarked at the port of Sandwich in Kent, and landed in Flanders; from thence he traversed the Alps and Tuscany, and arrived at Rome about the festival of Saint Andrew. He was received by Pope Innocent the Third, with great kindness and condescension; he accepted the works which Giraldus presented to him with this punning compliment: "*Præsentarunt vobis alii libras, sed nos libros.*" "Others have presented pounds to your holiness, but I have presented books;" and expressed himself highly gratified with their perusal; yet he did not ultimately favour his suit. The archbishop opposed his promotion with great violence, and his competitor for the see of Saint David's had greater success in a court where all things were venal. Giraldus, however, persisted in prosecuting his claim, and was involved in a tedious litigation of five years, by asserting the dignity and

^u A full account of this celebrated abbey will be given in Chapter IV. Book II. of the Itinerary.

^w An extensive range of mountains separating Cardiganshire from Brecknockshire and Radnorshire, and more properly called Maelyenid.

^x Of this place which is situated between Knighton and Rhayader in Radnorshire, Leland gives the following account: "Comehere an abbay of White Monkes stondith betwixt 11 great hilles in Melennith in a botom wher rennith a litle brooke. It is a vii miles from Knighton. The first foundation was made by Cadwathelan ap Madok for lx monkes. No chirch in Wales is seene of such lenght, as the fundation of walles ther begon doth show; but the third part of this worke was never finischid. Al the howse was spoilid and defacid by Owen Glindour." Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 15. Further particulars respecting this abbey may be seen in the Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 825, where it is erroneously stated as *being situated in Pembrokeshire*, instead of Radnorshire.

privileges of the church of Saint David's against the incroachments and demands of that of Canterbury. He took three successive journies to Rome at a considerable expense; but was at last defeated in his hopes, for the Pope passed a definitive sentence, and declared his election null.

After the unfavourable decision made by the Pontiff, Giraldus thus addressed himself to his Eminence in full consistory: "Thou knowest, O Lord and Father, that the cause I have in hand is two-fold: first, the cause of my own election; secondly, the cause of our metropolitan church. The validity of the one having, by thy will and judgment, been annulled, I pray and beseech your Holiness that the other, on behalf of which I have undertaken so many laborious journies to your court, may be allowed to follow its legal course." "And who," replies the Pope, "will prosecute that cause?" "I (says Giraldus); for although not the bishop elect, yet I am archdeacon as well as canon, and a legitimate, not a spurious member of that church, and ready, with all my might, to rescue my mother and brethren from an unlawful state of servitude. Upon which the Bishop of Ostia, the liberal and open-hearted Octavian, thus addressed the council: "Now, indeed, it evidently appeareth, that the Archdeacon is more strenuous in promoting the advantages of his church, than his own self-interest, and that he is more actuated by a sense of charity than of covetousness."

γ "Pater et Domine, duplex, ut nostis, causa laboris nostri fuit; causa videlicet electionis, et causa statûs ecclesiæ nostræ. Unde si extincta est una, prout placuit arbitrio vestro, supplicamus sanctitati vestræ quatenus altera, propter quam præcipuè toties ad curiam istam laboravimus, sc. causa statûs, suo cursu suoque marte procedat. "Et quis," inquit Papa, "causam istam prosequeretur?" Et Archidiaconus, "Ego,

The right, however, of Giraldus to the bishopric was deemed so unquestionable, that he was usually called in Wales the bishop elect: and although he does not appear ever to have assumed that title himself, yet King John issued several mandates and letters against him for presuming to take upon himself that character. "Know ye, that Giraldus Archdeacon of Brecknock, acts openly against our crown and dignity, considering himself as the bishop elect of Saint David's, though we have never assented to his election."^z

This long controversy continued above four years, during which time our author suffered many and very heavy persecutions, one of which I shall now relate.

The resolute conduct of the canons of Saint David's, in asserting the rights of their church, was strongly supported by the reigning princes of North and South Wales: on the other side, the Archbishop of Canterbury not only employed threats but also bribes, in order to soften the temper of the chapter: he sent them threaten-

Pater, si vestræ placuerit providentiæ. Quod si electus ecclesiæ illius non sum, archidiaconus tamen ejusdem sum, et canonicus filiusque legitimus, et non spurius; matrem et fratres ab indebitâ quidem eripere servitute pro posse paratus." Protinûs autem Hostiensis Episcopus, liberalis ille et Curialis Octavianus, Cardinalis primus et dextrum Papæ latus ubique tenens, ad hæc respondit. "Nunc reverâ evidenter apparet, quòd magis appetiit et appetit iste ecclesiæ suæ profectum, quàm personæ; et quia magis hunc caritas laborare quàm cupiditas fecit."*

^z "Rex etc. omnibus, etc.—Sciatis quòd Giraldus Archidiaconus de Breckinoc manifestè operatur contrà coronam et dignitatem nostram; qui se gerit electum Menevensem, cùm nos in eum eligendum nunquam præbuimus assensum."

* This Octavian was a noble Roman, sent by Pope Urban the Third into England, to crown his son John King of Ireland, which ceremony however never took place.

ing letters from the king and justiciary, and by means of one Osbert, caused gilt rings, costly garments richly ornamented with gold and ivory, and various other presents to be distributed amongst them; which at length had the desired effect. The Abbot of Whitland, whom Giraldus calls "*Albior exteriùs quam interiùs, habitu quam actu, nomine quàm omine,*" was the chief auhtor of these corrupt intrigues, and infected the minds of the Chapter of Saint David's. Still, however, the Archdeacon persevered in a steady opposition to them, supported by the nobles of the country, and by all well-wishers to the church. On his return towards England from a journey through the wild districts of Cardiganshire, he met, on the mountains of the Cantref Bychan,^a a messenger who had been dispatched from his dean at Brecknock, to acquaint him that all the lands, both at Brecknock and Landeu, belonging to the see of Saint David's, and of which he had the management, had, by a precept of the justiciary, been seized by the servants of William de Braose, on behalf of the king. At Luel,^b he encountered a second messenger, informing him, that all his own lands and revenues would be shortly seized; and his friends advised him on no account to proceed, for the king's officers had threatened to throw into prison both him and his attendants, if they could lay hold of them. But the archdeacon, by no means alarmed at these tidings, proceeded on his journey homewards; when between the villages of Trallan and Aberyscir,^c he met his own dean, by name Richard

^a The Cantref Bychan, or little hundred.

^b Luel, a small village in Brecknockshire, about a mile distant from Trecastle.

^c Trallan and Aberyscir are two small villages in Brecknockshire situated near the banks of the river Usk, and west of the town of Brecknock.

(who had been appointed his procurator in those parts), pale and trembling; and he confirmed to him by mouth, all the intelligence he had before communicated to him by letters and messengers. Still, however, Giraldus despising the mighty threats of his adversaries, persisted in his journey, saying to his companions, "Have we not some good ale at home? Let us go and drink it before it be all gone." *Nonne domi cerevisiam bonam habemus? Eamus ergo et bibamus eam, prius quam omnino fuerimus destituti?* On arriving at Landeu, he found all safe and quiet at home; these premature alarms having arisen only from some threats disseminated in that neighbourhood by Reginald Foliot, and his accomplices.

These disturbances and insults proceeded from the following cause: the justiciary being at Shrewsbury, attended by the barons of that country, heard a heavy complaint preferred against Giraldus, by Robert Bishop of Bangor; alleging that he had favoured the cause of his adversary Andrew, who, contrary to the will of the king, considered himself as bishop elect; and declaring in a public audience, that, not only on this, but on every other occasion, he had opposed the inclinations of the king; and he likewise added, that the archdeacon at this present time came into North Wales for the purpose of uniting Llewelyn and the Princes of Powys with those of South Wales, and in short the whole country of Wales in a confederacy against the king. Upon the grounds of these false representations, the justiciary deprived Giraldus of all his benefices at Brecknock, and on his journey through Oxford, wrote to the archdeacon of that county, ordering him to do the same. "Geoffrey Fitz-piers, Earl of Essex, to his dearly beloved friend the Arch-

deacon of Oxford, sendeth greeting : “ Know therefore that Giraldus Archdeacon of Brecknock, is the enemy of our Lord the King, and therefore we command you to take into your hands all the benefices which he holds in your archdeaconry.”^d The justiciary also wrote letters to the Abbot of Whitland, ordering him to consider Giraldus as an enemy to the king, and a rebel, to hold no intercourse with him, or to give him any assistance in time of need ; for during the many vexatious persecutions that Giraldus had experienced, he had often sought and found refuge within the convents of the Cistercian Order.

The abbot unable totally to prevent the reception of Giraldus within the gates of the monasteries subject to him, and particularly that of Stratflur, where he had deposited all his most valuable books, and whither, during the tide of his heaviest persecutions, he had frequently retreated, gave orders that no respect should be paid to the Archdeacon whenever he came ; but that he should be received only in the public hall, amongst the noisy and vulgar guests. He ordered also, that neither monk nor lay-brother, nor even any servant belonging to the convent, should be allowed to conduct him, as a guide, over the wild and dreary tract of country, in which that monastery is situated ; a mark of hospitality and kindness not denied even to the greatest strangers. The Archdeacon, however, had shortly the means of fully vindicating his character from these unjust aspersions, and of disappointing the Abbot

^d “G. filius Petri, Comes Essexiae, carissimo amico suo Archidiacono Oxoniae salutem. Sciatis quod G. Archidiaconus de Brechene inimicus est Domini Regis : et ideo vobis mandamus, quatinus capiatis in manus vestras omnes redditus suos quos habet in archidiaconatu vestro, teste meipso apud Gloverniam xx die Januarii.”

of Whitland in his ambitious hopes of preferment. On being ordered by the justiciary to amend his conduct towards the king, and to hold no synod but in his own archdeaconry, he addressed him in the following spirited letter: "I am much astonished that a man of your lordship's wisdom and discretion, the first counsellor of the kingdom and justiciary of the realm, should so readily have attended to the suggestions of enemies during the absence of the adverse party, and be thus moved to anger; for it is not usual, as you well know, to pronounce judgment upon the assertions of one party, whilst the other is absent. Believe me, I am not such a *Sylvester*^c (such a mere man of the woods), as from the misrepresentations of my enemies, you may be inclined to think me; but that whenever a fit time and opportunity offer, I shall know how to exist within a *court*. I will therefore shortly come to you in England, prepared, through God's blessing, to refute, by true and solemn affidavits, the calumnies which have been trumpeted forth against me; and furthermore to convince your lordship that even

^c The words *Sylvester* and *Campester* are here evidently opposed to each other; the first is clearly intended as an allusion to his nick-name, which, from the spirit of the reply, had probably been tauntingly referred to by his opponents, intimating perhaps that he was "*Sylvester tam in naturâ quàm in nomine.*" The word *Campus*, from whence *Campester*, was sometimes figuratively used, as Cicero observes, *pro comitiis*. "*Gravis est modus in ornatu orationis et sæpe sumendus; ex quo genere hæc sunt. Martem belli esse communem, Cererem pro frugibus, &c. campum pro comitiis, &c.* Cicero de Oratore, Lib. II. c. 42.

In this sense it seems most appropriately to have been adopted by Giraldus, in his answer to the chief justice, as applying immediately to the defence he was about to make before him in a court of law; indeed there seems to have been a double propriety in it; the word *campus* applying equally to the field and to the forum, and at the same time keeping up that double meaning which is evidently intended by the previous term of *Sylvester*.

the words of bishops are not always to be received as gospel ; but that, on the other hand (when devoid of truth), they ought rather to be considered as profane.”^f

Not finding the justiciary on his arrival in London, he followed him into Kent. About the same time a messenger came to the court from Llewelyn Prince of Wales, who upon enquiry, related faithfully to the justiciary every thing that had been done by Giraldus, assuring him, that by his influence with the prince and nobles of the country the royal cause had been greatly assisted. The justiciary was completely satisfied with this explanation, and had a long conference with Giraldus, concerning the state of affairs in Wales.

The persevering contest in which Giraldus was engaged became a frequent subject of conversation both in England and Wales. At a time when Gwenwynwyn, son of Owen Cyveiliog, and Prince of Powys, was assembled in council with the chiefs and nobles of his land, and the labours of Giraldus were mentioned ; the prince said, “ Wales has indeed been accustomed to wage many and obstinate wars with England, but none so severe as that now carried on by

^f “ Nobili et magnifico viro G. filio Petri Comiti Essexiæ, totius Angliæ Justiciario, C. Archidiaconus de Brechene tam corporis quam animæ salutem.

“ Miror valde virum discretum et sapientem, principalem Regis Consiliarium et regni Justiciarium, verbis inimicorum in absentia partis adversæ tam facili fide adhibuisse, et in iram aut indignationem motum fuisse : non enim ex unius partis assertionem, alterâ parte absente, judicium, ut nostis fieri solet. Non igitur tam *Sylvester* sum, sicut adversarii mentiuntur, quin et *Campester* existere loco ac tempore sciam : Unde de Walliâ in Angliam ad vos, Deo dante, in brevi veniam ; ea vobis, quæ de me falsis suggestionibus cantata sunt, veris per Dei gratiam assertionibus discantare paratus ; et Episcopi verba non omnia fore semper Evangelica, sed ubi veritati contraria fuerint potius sacrilega vobis ostensurus—Utinam diù et benè valere possitis.”

the Bishop of Saint David's elect, who, to maintain the dignity and rights of his country, hath not ceased by long and repeated exertions to molest the king, the archbishop, and the whole body of the English clergy and people. Our differences, should they last during the summer, are settled before winter, nor do they often extend beyond the term of a single year; but this contest of Giraldus has continued incessantly for more than five."^g

The election of Giraldus to the vacant see of Saint David's being thus annulled by the court of Rome, he returned to England,^h and

^g "Magnas multoties verras Angliæ Wallia nostra movere solet: sed nunquam tam grandem tamque gravem movit ei, sicut his nostris diebus per Electum Menevensem; qui Regem et Archiepiscopum totumque simul Angliæ clerum et populum propter honorem Walliæ, tantis tam diuturnis et continuis infestare nisibus et molestare non desistit. Nostræ nimirum verræ, si per æstatem durant, ad pacem hiemali tempore revertuntur; nec nisi per annum ad plus vel etiam dimidium durare solent: Hujus autem werra per quinquennium et amplius incessanter jam duravit."

^h Still his evil fortune pursued him on his journey, for on approaching the frontiers of France, he and his attendants were seized by an officer belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, and thrown into prison. John of Tinmouth, a creature of the archbishop's, who had been at Rome to favour the cause of that prelate against Giraldus, had been likewise taken by the enemy, and had given information that such a person (describing the figure and make of the archdeacon) would follow within eight days. The son of the officer who detained him said, that he recognized Giraldus by his lofty stature, and by his large and hairy eyebrows, but particularly by the latter. Upon which the archdeacon replied, that John of Tinmouth had shewn himself sufficiently hostile towards him already, by his influence at the court of Rome, in causing his election to be annulled, without adding this fresh act of oppression in being the means of his apprehension: and he excited a general laughter by saying, "that if he could have imagined that the projection or roughness of his eyebrows would have proved so detrimental to him, he would have removed it by the scissars or the fire." Subjunxit etiam unde ad risum cunctos commovit, "Quod si superciliorum suorum hispeditatem ad nocumentum sibi tantum provenire posse novisset; sylvositatem illam

protested publicly against his three rival competitors. He objected to the Abbot of Saint Dogmael, as being totally illiterate: to the Abbot of Whitland, as being illegitimately born, and of a most ambitious disposition: and to Reginald Foliot, as being but just arrived at the age of manhood, and as a young man of most profligate character.

On the day appointed for electing a bishop to fill the long vacant episcopal chair of Saint David's, Giraldus appeared at Lambeth; and from thence paid a visit to the justiciary in Westminster, who accompanied him to the chapel of Saint Catharine, at which place the canons of Saint David's, and the clergy of the archbishop, were assembled; for, according to the customs of the English monarchy, these elections were always made either before the king or his justiciary, and not in the presence of the archbishop.

The justiciary, calling Giraldus aside, endeavoured to dissuade him from nominating a Welshman to the vacant preferment, as during this tedious controversy they had shewn themselves so adverse to his interest; and at the same time begged him to recommend some stranger of good character and reputation. The archdeacon readily assented; and that he might not appear to be actuated by self-interest, proposed two natives of Normandy: but the justiciary disapproving of this choice, desired him to think of two other fit persons residing in England, and who were better known to him. Having obtained leave from the justiciary, five or six of the canons of Saint David's retired with the archdeacon, and endeavoured to

et eminentiam ferro vel igne minorasset. From this pilosity, our author may, perhaps, have gained the nick-name of *Sylvester*.

persuade him to fix upon some member of their church, naming at first some canons, then some abbots, and lastly some priors, to all of whom Giraldus objected. They then mentioned Geoffrey de Henelawe Prior of Lanthoni,¹ as being a member of the church of Saint David's, whom he also rejected; because he had always coveted this piece of preferment, and lived in the greatest intimacy with the archbishop.

Being urged the next day by the justiciary, to nominate some other fit persons who resided in England, not in Wales; he pro-

¹ Geoffrey de Henelawe was Prior of the convent of Lanthoni, near Gloucester, and by his skill in physic, had procured the friendship and acquaintance of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury.

During the interval of the long controversy between the archbishop and Giraldus, when Geoffrey de Henelawe was a candidate for the vacant see of Saint David's, a certain monk, coming out of Wales to Gloucester, thus addressed the Prior of Lanthoni: "I much wonder that you, being Prior of so sumptuous an establishment placed in so fine and tranquil a situation, sheltered by excellent buildings, and abounding in fruitful vineyards, gardens, and orchards, should (as is reported) covet the poor little cathedral of Saint David's, situated in a barbarous and hostile territory; particularly as in the whole see there is scarce a single house where even a private man, much less a bishop or prelate, can get a decent lodging." To which the prior replied, "Why do you talk to me about the want of houses? why frighten me with the description of its dreary situation? for you know it is far preferable in my eyes to my present situation."

"Mirum, inquit, si pauperulam Menevensis ecclesiæ cathedram cupis, (ut fertur,) et ambis, præsertim etiam in terrâ barbarâ et gente hostili, qui Prior es domus hujus tam nobilis, et in loco tam pulchro et pacifico ædificiis egregiis munito, vineisque feracibus, viridariis ac pomariis amænè conserto; maximè verò cùm in episcopatu Menevensi toto vix una sit domus ad episcopum spectans; ubi vir probus, licet privatus, nedum episcopus aut prælatus, honestè descendere queat." Ad quod Prior ille paucis ambitionem suam animumque singularem ac sæcularem respondendo declarans ait; "Quicquid de domorum defectu dicas, quicquid de terrâ hostili et barbarâ nos terreas? longè tamen plus mecum valere quàm nostrum scias."

posed Roger, Dean of Lincoln, and Walter Mapes,^k Archdeacon of Oxford; at the same time desiring the justiciary to name some other candidates, who, though not Welshmen, were nevertheless acquainted with the customs of that country. The justiciary having proposed Hugh de Mapenor, Dean of Hereford, and Walter Foliot, Precentor of the same church (of whom Giraldus approved), asked him why he objected to Geoffrey de Henelawe; upon which he stated the same objections he had before given to the canons of Saint David's. The archbishop, as well as the justiciary, were interested in the promotion of this man, as the one wished to advance his physician, and the other his son-in-law, Henry de Bohun, to the priorate of Lanthoni, which would become vacant by the preferment of Geoffrey to the see of Saint David's.

The archdeacon could not at first be prevailed upon to listen to this nomination, but, during their procession to the chapter-house, revolving in his mind the abandoned state of corruption into which his church had fallen, and how useless and unprofitable a task it would be for him to encounter fresh troubles and dangers for its sake; considering also, that the person proposed had never openly

^k Walter Mapes, a learned prelate, was an intimate friend of Giraldus, and in his writings inveighed bitterly against the profligacy of the monks. He flourished about the year 1218, in the reign of King John, who was his patron. A list of his writings may be seen in Bale *Scriptores Britannici*, p. 254, where the following character is recorded of him from the treatise of Giraldus, entitled "*Speculum Ecclesiæ*." Gualterus cognomento Mapus, vir celebri famâ conspicuus, et tam literarum copiâ, quam curialium verborum facetiis præclarus, Oxoniensis Archidiaconus, facetias plures in Cistercienses monachos evomebat, quòd illos ob eorum ambitionem et avaritiam odio habuisset. "Judæis (inquit) et albis monachis, nulla fidelitas servanda, cum nec ipsi servant."

professed himself to be his enemy, and moreover, was a member of their church; he suddenly changed his mind, and when the chapter was assembled, he thus publicly addressed its members:

“I have hitherto sufficiently contended; I have very sufficiently, and not unprofitably, toiled in endeavouring to bring to life the long dormant and almost expired rights of our church; nor have I been deterred, by any obstacles, from prosecuting its welfare with the utmost diligence and activity: that I may not, therefore, appear to you in the light of a perpetual and obstinate opposer to your wills, I freely give my consent to the person now proposed, provided he meets with the approbation of our brethren, Maurice Archdeacon of Cardigan, and the other canons.¹

Giraldus seeing with regret how little good faith and honesty existed in the breasts of his brethren and canons, who, besides their numerous excesses, had so often proved themselves perjured to the church, thought it no longer honourable for him to remain a member of their society; upon which he went to the archbishop,^m with

¹ “Satis hactenus certavi; satis et sufficienter nec inutiliter laboravi; qui jus ecclesiæ nostræ tanto sopitum quinimo quasi sepultum tempore in tantâ audientiâ resuscitavi; jusque proprium nec segniter nec ignaviter contrâ tot obstacula sum prosecutus. Unde et huic electioni à quibusdam ex nostris factæ de viro, ut creditur, bono, ne pertinax et perpes contradictor inveniar, assensum præbeo, si tamen socii et complices nostri, consentire voluerint.”

^m Hubert, at first Dean of York, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, succeeded to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury in the year 1193. He was present at the siege of Acon, where his predecessor died. He had always shewn himself very hostile to Giraldus during his long controversy. The following particulars are recorded of him by Gervase, a monk of Canterbury:

“Successit Hubertus, primo ecclesiæ Eboracensis decanus, postea episcopus Sarisbiriensis.

“Hubertus Sarisbiriensis episcopus, apud Acon in omnium oculis graciosus, et in re

may justly consider him as one of the brightest luminaries that adorned the annals of the twelfth century.

His father was William de Barri, who probably came into England with the Conqueror: his mother was Angharad, daughter of Nest, who was daughter of Rhys ap Theodor Prince of South Wales; slain in a battle with the Normans, in the year 1090. His noble and princely lineage, added to the great abilities, spirit, and ambition, which he displayed at a very early age, proved a perpetual and effectual bar to that preferment which he ever anxiously coveted; and which King Henry the Second avowedly confessed were the sole obstacles to his advancement in the church.*

His repeated journies to the court of Rome, and the many and great dangers to which he thereby continually exposed himself, sufficiently attest his sincerity and zeal for the welfare of his church: and the anecdotes recorded of him at Brecknock, Pembroke, Keri, and Trallan, prove his resolute and steady perseverance in the cause he had undertaken.

The frequent opportunities he takes of animadverting on the loose and profligate lives of the clergy and monks throughout Wales, as well as on the abuses and excesses which, by their bad conduct and management, had crept into the church, and which

* In summâ verò sciendum et indubitâtâ veritate tenendum; quòd summa præcipuaque causa, quare Giraldus ad summos dignitatis gradus in regno Anglicano juxta personæ dignitatem et meritorum qualitatem promotus non erat, ista fuit; quòd principales Walliæ viros sanguinis propinquitate contingebat. Semper enim ipsum ob hoc Reges Angliæ suspectum habentes et latenter exosum, promotioni ipsius nequaquam assensum adhibere volebant.



John Carter del.

James Baines sculp.

MONUMENT OF ST. VIGILIUS CAMBRIGENSIS.

Published May 1856, by William Miller, Albemarle Street, London.

finally compelled him to quit his ecclesiastical preferment, sufficiently evince the morality of his character and principles.^h

His conduct at Lincoln, and at many other places, displayed his humane and charitable disposition: and that he was disinterested as to pecuniary emoluments, and content with a moderate competency; the description of his residentiary retreat at Landeu, and his generous behaviour in resigning an archdeaconry and prebendary to his nephew during his own life-time, most amply prove.ⁱ

His ambition, which was chiefly displayed in so ardently seeking the episcopal throne of Saint David's, cannot be blamed; for when it was at last offered to him on dishonourable terms, his probity revolted, and spurned the proffered honour.

The numerous works he composed on various subjects, at a time when the literary world was not assisted by the invention of types; the extensive knowledge, both in sacred, profane, and classical history and poetry, which his quotations demonstrate, afford the most convincing testimony of his abilities and learning.^k Our high opinion

^h In his book *De Speculo Ecclesie*, Giraldus inveighs bitterly against the monks; but he seems to have been particularly adverse to those of the black habit. He says, "A monachis enim cunctis, et præcipuè nigris, omnique hujusmodi peste voraci, ecclesiam nostram miseram, nè miserior immo miserrima fiat, et funditus evacuata depereat, in perpetuum defendat Deus!"

In another part of the same work, he complains bitterly of having been defrauded of his books by the craft and cunning of the monks.

ⁱ Porro inter plurima de Giraldo miranda memoriâque dignissima et hoc quoque memorandum adjicio; quod licet ad Pontificatûs apicem non attigerit; cum tamen redditus ecclesiasticos ducentarum marcarum aut plurium obtinisset; tam amplâ manu et tanquam prodigâ clericis et familiaribus suis eos dispergere et passim conferre curavit; quòd vix ad usus proprios et necessarios mediam illorum omnium partem sibi retinuit.

^k Nec deerat in tantâ et tam variâ rerum cognitione torrens dicendi copia; sed sibi

of his good sense and judgment must be in some degree lowered, when we recollect the repeated tales of wonder which he relates; his own words however prove, that he did not give implicit credit to all the miracles which he inserted in his works; for he says, "I know, and am well assured, that I have committed to writing some things that will appear ridiculous, and even impossible, to the reader; nor do I wish that hasty credit should be given to every thing I have asserted, for I do not believe them myself."¹

I shall conclude my life of this celebrated character, with a note I found amongst his manuscripts in the British Museum. Harleian, No. 359.

"A man of good callynge in England, affirmed Giraldus' labores to be commendable and profitable for sundry causes, and especially he assigned,

First, that the cause of the dignitie of Saint David's church was by him renewed, and the first præscription was interrupted by three commissions, made by dyvers judges, and the citations of the contrary parte.

Secondarilye, that he moved such an harde controversie so bouldlye, and continuyd it five yeres agaynst the kynge, the arch-

aliquandò inæqualis, quod vitium non hominis, sed potiùs ætatis erat. Quis enim illo sæculo talem facilè sperare potuisset facundiam, qualem citò nactus esset Giraldus. Leland de Script. Brit. p. 221.

Another ancient biographer has paid the following compliment to the personal, as well as literary accomplishments of Giraldus. "Vir ab ipsâ naturâ tum animi tum corporis dotibus præditus, ut eum tantorum donorum intuitu, saltem quantùm humana patitur conditio, verè pronunciaveris in hâc vitâ beatum. Pitsens, p. 278.

¹ "Scio tamen et certus sum me nonnulla scripturum quæ lectori vel impossibilia vel etiam ridiculosa videbuntur. Nec ego volo temerè credi cuncta quæ posui, quia nec à me ipso ita creduntur, tanquam nulla de eis sit in meâ cogitatione dubitatio."

bysshope, and all England; nor ceased at anye tyme for theyr threates, persecutions, and spoylings of hym and his, untill Rome by corruption fell from hym.

Thirdly, when Rome fell from hym, and therewith also the chapter of Saint Davyds fell from hym, and theyr church throghe lyke corruption; yet he removed all his adversaries from theyr promotion of that church, as well within as without.

Forthely, althowghe bothe Rome and his church fell from hym, and he allone proceded in the cawse agaynst so many adversaries; yet he obteyned bothe of the kynge and the archbysshope great revenewes in England, that he would cease from vexinge them, and so that he would be quiet, he had as it were a tribute of them.

Fifthly, that he procured his nephew to be invested in his archdenrie, and present whatsoever might happen to hym; that he hymselfe myght be no more of that wicked and adulterous societie.

Therefore let the spitefull cease to bable, sainge, that Giraldus paynes were unprofitable; he dyd not a lytle profite his church, who alone was agaynst all, and fayled his church in no necessitie."^m

^m "Out of an old booke of Master John Price after the discription of Wales, written in Englyshe by John Stow, Marchant Taylor, Anno Domine 1579, and in the monthe of December."

CHRONOLOGY
OF THE
LIFE AND ACTIONS
OF
GIRALDUS DE BARRI.

A. D.

1150. GIRALDUS was born

1170. About this year he wrote his *Metrica Cosmographia*.

1172. He returned into England from the Academy at Paris, where he had pursued his literary studies for many years.

1175. Appointed Legate in Wales by Richard Archbishop of Canterbury; and shortly afterwards he obtained the archdeaconry of Brecknock.

1176. Elected Bishop of Saint David's in the month of May: returns to Paris about the end of the same year.

1179. Being chosen public Professor of Canon Law in the Academy of Paris, he declines the office.

This same year the canons of Saint David's assert the metropolitan rights of their church in the Lateran Council.

1180. Returns to England, and is appointed Administrator of the Bishopric of Saint David's by Peter de Leia, the bishop of that see.

A. D.

1184. Summoned to the court by King Henry the First, he goes over with him into Normandy.
1185. Accompanies John, the king's son, into Ireland; and in the same year refuses the Irish bishoprics of Fernes and Leighlin.
1186. In the middle of Lent, makes a public oration in the council at Dublin; and after Easter returns into Wales.
1187. Writes the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio Hibernica*.
1188. Accompanies Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, through Wales.
1189. Is sent by King Richard into Wales, as Legate for the protection of that country; and in the same year is appointed coadjutor to William Bishop of Ely, Chief Justice of England.
1190. Refuses the offer of the bishopric of Bangor.
1191. Refuses the bishopric of Landaff.
1192. Taking leave of the court, he goes to Lincoln in order to study theology, and remains there for seven years.
1193. Writes the *Life* of Geoffrey Archbishop of York.
1197. Writes the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*.
1198. In the month of September he is nominated by the chapter of Saint David's as a fit person to succeed to the vacant bishopric, together with three others.
1199. At the beginning of this year he alone is nominated by the chapter, and elected bishop on the 29th of June. In the same year, on the 30th of June, he goes into Ireland, and returning after three weeks residence in that country,

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A. D.

journeys to Rome, and enters that city about the feast of Saint Andrew.

1200. In the month of May, being appointed administrator both of the temporal and spiritual concerns of the church of Saint David's, during its dispute with Pope Innocent the Third, he revisits England.

1201. Returns to Rome about the middle of Lent ; and to England about the middle of the same year.

1202. This whole year being nearly consumed in litigations at home, he proceeds on another journey to Rome on the 2d of November, and enters that city on the 4th of January following.

1203. Definitive sentence being passed by Pope Innocent the Third, on the 15th of April, he returns to England in the month of August. On the 10th of November in the same year, Geoffrey de Henelawe being elected Bishop of Saint David's, he relinquishes any further contest ; and shortly afterwards resigns his archdeaconry to his nephew, William de Barri.

1204-5. He writes the Description of Wales ; the Symbolum Electorum ; Speculum Duorum ; Invectiones ; Legenda S. Remigii ; and the books, de Gestis suis.

1215. He refuses the bishopric of Saint David's, offered to him on dishonourable terms.

1218. He writes his Dialogues, De Jure Menevensis Ecclesiæ.

1220. He writes the books—De Principis Instructione, and Speculum Ecclesiæ ; and revises a second edition of his Dialogues.

This Chronology of the Life of Giraldus, printed by Warton in his *Anglia Sacra*, does not entirely agree with the account which the author has given of himself at the end of his Treatise *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*:^a he there says, “ that he wrote his *Metrica Cosmographia* about his twentieth year; his *Topography of Ireland and Prophetic History* about his thirtieth year; his *Itinerary and Description of Wales* about his fortieth year; *Symbolum electorum*, and *Liber de Gestis Giraldi*, together with the *Libellus Invectionum* and *Speculum duorum*, (*vindicis animi digesti studio*) about his fiftieth year: his legends of the Saints were written at different times; but those concerning the two bishops of Lincoln, with the *Gemma ecclesiastica*, were composed about his sixtieth year: the *Dialogus de Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*, with the treatise, *De Principis Instructione*, concluded his literary labours, at the advanced age of seventy years. In many of his works he makes mention of this intended treatise, to the composition of which he seems to have devoted much time and attention; and, after all his exertions, had scarcely the courage to submit it to the public.^b

For the information of the curious, whose leisure and inclinations may induce them to examine more attentively the manuscript

^a The difference in some of the dates may be accounted for by the mode in which Giraldus has marked the period in which his literary compositions appeared, viz. 20. 30. 40. 50. 60. 70. and which could not have been quite correct.

^b *Dialogus autem præsens, unâ cum libello De Principis Instructione toties promisso, diu nimirum valde diligenter atque latenter hyemalibus lucubrationibus crebris juxtâ veritatem historicam et quæ veris parcere non novit severitatem elaborato, ideoque tam serò prodire in publicum, et proferre caput denique vix auso; tanquam anno ætatis meæ septuagesimo.* Warton *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II. p. 627.

collections of Giraldus, I shall give an account of those which have fallen under my own observation

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

COTTONIAN COLLECTION.

Julius B. XIII. 4. Giraldi Cambrensis liber de instructione principis, divisus in tres distinctiones, quarum duas impendit insectationi Principum Normannicorum, ut proditorio prætextu religionis omnes Britannicorum insulas reduceret sub Monarchiam Gallicanam, quod mysterium hodiè operatur in pragmaticis Hyspanorum. N. B. The above note is written on the leaf preceding the title-page of the manuscript, which begins at page 48 of the volume, and ends at page 173. The following table of contents is prefixed to the first chapter.

De Principis moderamine.

De Principis mansuetudine.

De Principis verecundiâ.

De Principis pudiciciâ.

De Principis pacienciâ.

De Principis temperanciâ.

De Principis demenciâ.

De Principis munificenciâ.

De Principis magnificenciâ.

De Principis justiciâ.

De Principis prudenciâ.

De Principis providenciâ.

De Principis modestiâ.

De Principis audaciâ et animositate.

De Principis gloriâ et nobilitate.

De differentiâ inter Regem et Tyranum.

De Tyrannorum obitu et fine cruento.

De Principum electorum tam vitâ laudabili quam fine.

De principalium nominum expositione.

De principis religione ac devocione.

De finali Principis intencione et felici tocius vitæ consumacione.

This is a fair manuscript, with the capital letters coloured.

Tiberius B. XIII. 1. Distinctiones. A fairly written manuscript in double columns, but much damaged.

2 Ejusdem Giraldi Vita, written in the same hand and manner, with a long index prefixed. This manuscript consists of sixty-four pages; at the bottom of the last is this note. "Desunt multa immò plura quam 100 capitula (vide indicem) gravi profectò monumenti tam præclari jacturâ.

3. Speculum Ecclesiæ, written in a very small hand, with illuminated capitals, and much injured.

Tiberius. C. XIV. Liber de divinis officiis sive Gemma animæ, quæ hîc Bedæ venerabili sed alibi rectiùs Giraldo Cambrensi ascribitur. A manuscript in folio, of 88 leaves, with illuminated capitals.

Nero. D. VIII. 9. Cambriæ descriptio, ad *Hubertum* Cant. Archiep. inscripta: plura desunt quæ habentur in editione Camde-

nianâ;* plura etiam hîc reperiuntur quæ in laudatâ editione desiderantur.

This tract is bound up with several others in a large folio volume of fourteen pages, fairly written, but difficult to read on account of the abbreviations: the initial letters are illuminated. Between the first and second prefaces is a short elenchus of the contents.

Vitellius. C. X. 1. Cambriæ descriptio ad *Robertum* Cantuariens. Archiepiscopum. In editione Camdenianâ hic tractatus Stephano, et non *Roberto* inscribitur.

This manuscript contains two short chapters, describing the contents of each book; after which is the second preface, "*Cum inter varia*," &c.; it is a thin folio volume, written in a smaller character than the last, and in double columns; it contains six leaves, with initials illuminated.

Note. This manuscript corresponds with Nero D. VIII. and has the same defects.

Vitellius. E. V. 1. Descriptio Cambriæ in libris duobus. 2. Re-tractationes. 3. Catalogus librorum ab ipso compositorum. 4. Dialogus de Ecclesiæ Menevensis antiquitate ad Stephanum Cantuar. Archiepiscopum. 5. Poemata quædam Giraldi Cambrensis.

This manuscript is very imperfect, and has suffered very considerably by fire.

* Camden reprinted the Itinerary and this first book of the description of Wales, in his work entitled *Anglica, Normannica, Cambrica*.

Titus. C. XII. 8. Institutionum Principis epitome. This abridgement consists only of two pages and a half.

Domitianus I. 7. Itinerarium Cambriæ. 8. Descriptio Cambriæ, libri duo. 9. Tractatus retractationum, et Catalogus librorum diligentia Giraldi compositorum.

This MS. begins at page 56; after the preface is an index of the heads of each chapter; then follows the second preface "*Quoniam*," &c.; then the text of the Itinerary, and the two books of the description of Wales; it is fairly written, in good preservation, and agrees, as to prefaces, text, and number of chapters, with my printed copy; but the names of places are differently spelt.

Domitianus V. 6. Giraldi Cambrensis sex dialogi, de electione suâ in sedem Menevensem, de moribus cleri Walliæ, et de ipsius laboribus propter ecclesiæ suæ dignitatem et jura contra ecclesiam Cantuariensem. Scribit auctor tertiâ personâ, ut de se securiùs et confidentiùs, absque læsâ modestiâ, loquatur.

This manuscript begins at page 23, and ends at page 175, containing 153 leaves, written in double columns; the initial letters are coloured, and the whole is in good preservation.

Cleopatra. D. V. 1. Giraldi Cambrensis opera varia. 1. Topographia Hiberniæ from page 2 to 52. 2. Expugnatio Hiberniæ from page 52 to 98. 3. Symbolum electorum, continued on the same page after the Expugnatio Hiberniæ from page 98 to 133. 4. De descriptione mundi from page 133 to page 165.

This is a beautiful manuscript, well written, and in fine preser-

vation; the initial letters are illuminated, and the heads of the chapters coloured in red.

Faustina. C. IV. *Topographia Hiberniæ manu neotericâ parum accuratè exarata.*

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

HARLEIAN COLLECTION.

No. 359. 1. *Topographia Cambriæ.*

This manuscript consists of eight pages, has been copied by two different hands, and is very unconnected and imperfect.

2. *Ex Giraldi Topographia excerpta, two pages.*

3. *De Successione Episcoporum et gestis eorum, Bernardi et David Secundi.*

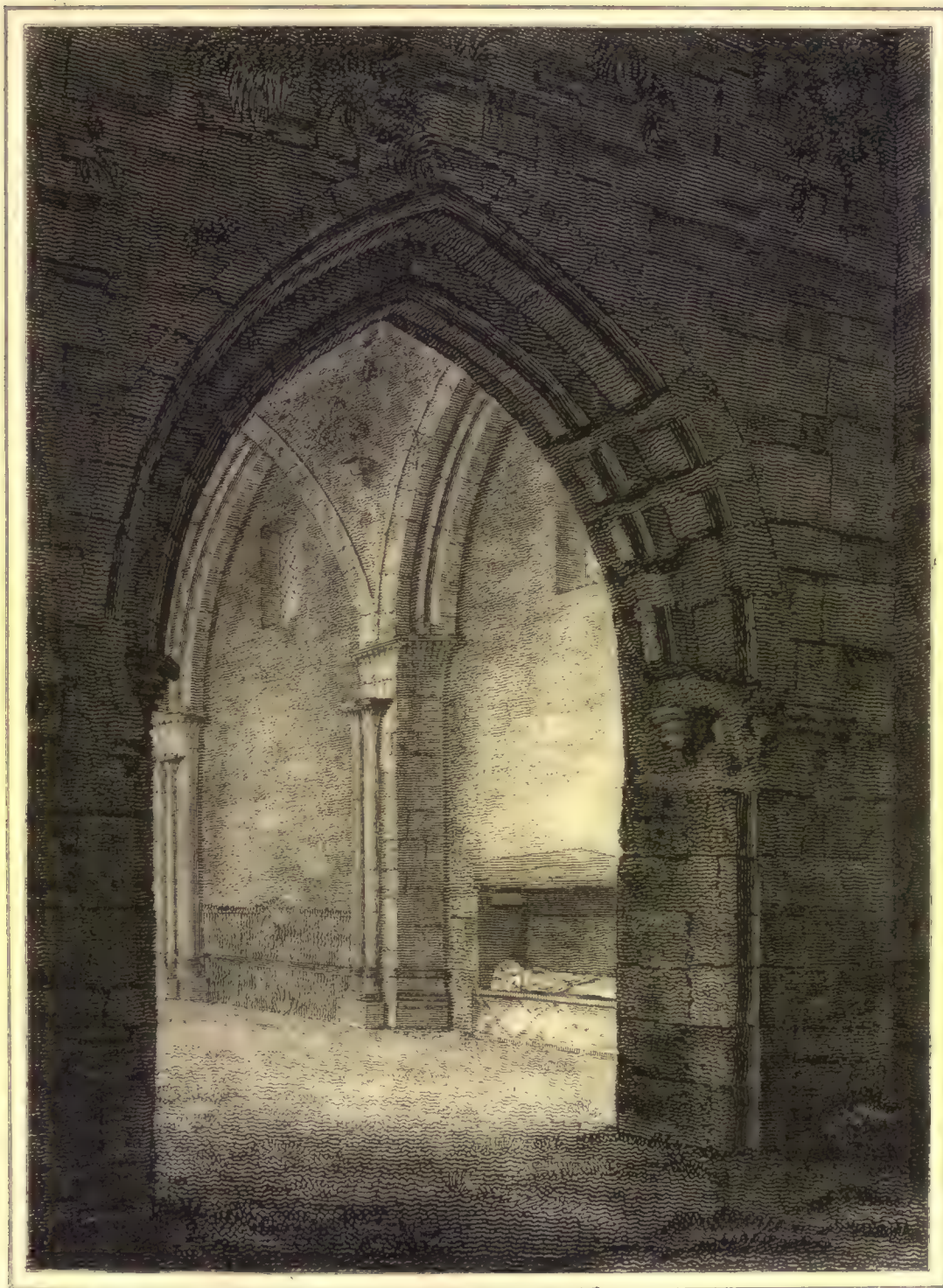
4. *Tractatus retractationum et Catalogus librorum diligentia Giraldi compositorum.*

5. *Laudes Giraldi Cambrensis, ex quodam vetusto libro Johannis Price.*

“Vir quidam magnus in Angliâ dixit et asseruit, laborem Magistri Giraldi multis ex causis commendabilem esse. Quarum quinque proposuit et assignavit.

Primò. Quòd renovata est causa dignitatis Ecclesiæ Sⁱ David per ipsum egregiè, et per tres commissiones diversis indicibus factis, et partis diversæ citationibus interrupta præscriptio.”

Secundò. Quòd tam vivaciter et audacter tantam controversiam et tam arduam movit, et prosequendo continuavit jam per quinquennium contr Regem et Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et Angliam



John Carter del.

James Balcanquhall sculp.

VIEW of the TOMB of GIRALDUS in the
CATHEDRAL of ST. DAVIDS.

Published March 1806 by W. B. M. Miller Albemarle Street London.

totam; nec propter ruinas et prosecutiones magnas rerumque suarum et suorum amissiones et spoliationes crebras unquam cessavit, nec ecclesiæ suæ defecit, donec ei Roma corrupta deficeret.

Tertiò. Quòd cum ei Curia Romana defecisset, et Capitulum Menevense non solùm ei sed et sibi ipsi, et ecclesiæ suæ dignitati, ex toto simili corruptione deficeret et exorbitaret, omnes adversarios suos tam de ipsâ ecclesiâ, quàm extrâ a promotione removit.

Quartò. Quòd licet ei tam ecclesia sua tota quàm Curia Romana deesset, et sic quasi solus contrâ tot hostes et tantos, ad arma procederet, tamen a Rege et Archiepiscopo ut cessaret ad præsens ab eorum vexatione, irruptos in Angliâ redditus obtinuit, et sic quiesceret tanquam tributum accepit.

Quintò. Quod nepotem suum quicquid sibi humanitùs accideret, de archidiaconatu suo et canoniâ, nè de illâ societate perversâ et fraternitate falsissimâ ipsemet ampliùs esset, investire laudabiliter procuravit.

This manuscript concludes with a general remark on the character of Giraldus.

“Cessent igitur æmuli obstrepere, de cætero cessent et oblatrare, mentientes et dicentes, inutilem fuisse Giraldi laborem: non ei parum profecit, qui solus existens hæc omnia fecit, et in nullo prorsus articulo ecclesiæ suæ pro posse defecit.”

5. De Expugnatione Hiberniæ. This manuscript, which begins at page 21, and ends at page 167, is written in two characters, and is rather difficult to read.

6. Topographia Hiberniæ, begins at page 68, and ends at page 125; like the preceding manuscript, it is written in two characters, and not very legibly.

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7 Itinerarium Cambriæ. This manuscript begins at page 126, and ends at page 216, and is fairly written. The Cambriæ descriptio is wanting; but the Description of Baldwin, mentioned in the Harleian Catalogue as deficient *in calce*, is misplaced between the two prefaces at the beginning of the book.

No. 551. This manuscript is written in a small and neat hand, beginning at page 3, and ending at page 37, and bears the following title-page: "Silvester Giraldus Cambrensis, his Itinerarie of Wales, and Description of Wales in English, never imprinted in that tounge, written by John Stow, the Chronicler, with his owne hand, A. D. 1575. It begins with the second preface.

1. The Itinerarium of Giralde Cambrensis, and a dyscription as well of Wales as Brytaine, written in Latyn, and then in Englyshe by John Stow, A. D. 1575.

2. Sylvester Gyraldus Cambrensis Topographie, or descripcion of Ireland, translatyd and writen here in Englyshe by John Stowe, A. D. 1575.

3. Giraldus Cambrensis Vaticinal, or Propheticall historie of the conqueste of Ireland, translatyd out of Latyn into Englyshe by W. Camden, and here writen by John Stow, A. D. 1576.

4. Giraldus Cambrensis descripcion of Wales to Hubert Archebyschope of Canterbury, writen by John Stowe in anno 1575.

Itinerary from page 3 to 37.

Topography of Ireland from page 38 to 63.

Vaticinal History from page 63 to 120.

Description of Wales from page 120 to 129.

N. B. In these manuscripts relating to Wales, large portions of the text are in different places omitted.

No. 544. A book in quarto, being another volume of Mr. John Stowe's historical collections; amongst which are

1. The retractation of Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis in English, and a catalogue of his books.
2. The Commendation of Giraldus Cambrensis out of an old booke of Mastar John Prices, after the description of Wales.^b
3. Part of two other tracts of the same Giraldus, concerning the right of the see of St. David's to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the church of Canterbury, and to have the other Welsh bishoprics subject to it.
4. De successione Episcoporum Menevensium et gestis eorum, viz. Bernardi, et David Secundi, ex libro quodam veteri in quo habentur quædam scripta Giraldi Cambrensis; et nunc est in custodiâ Magistri Price de Walliâ.

IN THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL LIBRARY AT LAMBETH.

No. 236. A manuscript volume in folio, fairly written on vellum, with capitals illuminated, entitled in the catalogue "Giraldi Cambrensis opera nonnulla."

1. De miseriâ conditionis humanæ, consilioque remediabili dato.
2. Gemma ecclesiastica
3. Epistolæ duæ; Stephano Cant. Archiepiscopo, et Capitulo Herefordensi.
4. Versus Giraldi in laudem Papæ Innocentii III. cum primò Romam advenit, emissi.

^b The Latin version of this note has been given in page 62, and the English translation in page 52 of the life of Giraldus.

5. Versus Magistri Simonis de Fraxino Canonici Herefordensis.

No. 263. *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, or a curious description of the paynefull journey of Baldwyn Archbishop of Canterburye thorough Wales, written in Latine by Silv. Giraldus Cambrensis, with the annotations of David Powell, Doctor of Divinity, englished by George Owen, Gentleman, 1602.^c

This manuscript is written on paper, in a fair hand.

No. 371. A manuscript in vellum, with illuminated capitals, very neatly written in a small character, containing amongst other tracts, the *Historia Vaticinalis Hybernæ*.

N.B. This appears to be the MS. mentioned by Tanner in his *Bibliotheca*, No. 248.

No. 622. A thick manuscript in quarto, written on vellum, with capitals illuminated, and in good preservation, containing the works of Giraldus on Ireland, entitled "*De Topographia Hiberniæ*, and *De expugnatione Hiberniæ*."

No. 623. A manuscript in folio, written on vellum, of the contents of which the following index is given in the Lambeth Catalogue.

• This manuscript appears to be a translation of the first edition of Giraldus, printed by Dr. Powel; it bears the following dedication, "To the right worshipful George Owen, Esquire, Vice Admiral of the counties of Pembroke and Cardigan, one of the Queen's Majesty's deputy lieutenants within the county of Pembroke, and one of the justices of the peace of the same county, wisheth prosperous health, encrease of worship, and contynuance of content, signed George Owen."

1. Description of Ireland.
2. Description of King Henry II.
3. Why Ireland so called.
4. Of the defaults of the land.
5. Of the first inhabitants of Ireland.
6. Of the conditions and manners of the Irish.

An old book of the conquest of Ireland, part of which seems to be Cambrensis's writing. Such is the note in the above catalogue, which was compiled by Wilkins, the author of the *Leges Saxonicae* and *Concilia*; but I could see no tract in this volume, which could in any degree authorise such a supposition. All the above tracts are written in English, and of course could not have been the handiwork of Giraldus.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

BENNET COLLEGE.

No. 390. A manuscript in octavo, finely written on vellum, with capitals richly illuminated and gilt (but in some parts damaged), entitled "De vitâ et persecutionibus Galfridi Eboracensis Archiepiscopi."^d

No. 400. A manuscript on vellum, with illuminated capitals, beginning with the words "*Consideranti*," &c. and ending with "*tantâ majestate*," and containing the *Descriptio Hiberniæ*. At the beginning of this MS. the following note is written. "*Hic liber*

^d Geoffrey Plantagenet, who was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1191.

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recognitus est per authorem, et multis in locis fusior est quàm in plerisque exemplaribus, unde videtur authorem Giraldum tanquam supremam manum apposuisse."

Fronting the first page of this manuscript is a singularly rude map of Britain, delineating England in the form of a wedge, and Ireland in that of a kidney, with the Orcades.

Itinerarium Cambriæ, dedicated to Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury.

Tractatus retractationum, et Catalogus librorum suorum, &c. This manuscript is written on paper, in a fair and legible running hand.

Dialogus de Ecclesiâ Menevensi. A manuscript on vellum, with illuminated capitals, ending with the words "*indulgere curant.*"

No. 425. Libellus de diversis miraculis *Gulielmi* de Barri, dict. Archidiacon. S. David.^d

This fine manuscript on vellum, in octavo, with illuminated capitals, figures, and other decorations, begins with a preface; then follow

Legenda S. Remigii.

Vita Roberti Bloet.

Vita Alexandri.

Vita Roberti de Chimel.

Vita Gaufredi Electi.

^d This manuscript has been improperly attributed, in his catalogue, to *William* instead of *Giraldus* de Barri.

Vita Walteri Constantiensis.

Vita Hugonis Burgundiensis.

Vitæ Episcoporum tergemorum, Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Henrici Wintoniensis; Bartholomæi Exoniensis, et Rogeri Wigorniensis; Baldwini Cisterciensis, postea Cantuariensis, et Hugonis Cartusiensis, postea Lincolniensis.

Vita S. Hugonis Lincolniensis.

IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

1. A folio manuscript written on vellum with illuminated capitals, and decorated with figures and a variety of paintings illustrative of the fables and miracles described in the work. It contains the *Descriptio Hybernix*, and the *Vaticinalis Historia*. The first letter is illuminated with the figure of a monk in a brown habit, writing; and on the margin of the MS. this note is written with a pencil. "Camdenus hæc excudenda curavit ab hac pagina 154, usque ad paginam 355 sequentem, et exinde usque ad paginam 451."

Vita S. Patricii, with illuminated capitals.

Descriptio Cambriæ, dedicated to Archbishop Hubert; written in a legible hand, but not illuminated.

Tractatus retractationum et Catalogus librorum; neatly and legibly written on vellum, in a modern character.

Itinerarium Cambriæ. The first letter of this manuscript is richly gilt and illuminated with two figures; and on the margin this note is written with a pencil: "Hæc etiam usque ad paginam 567 typis excussa sunt."

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De purgatorio S. Patricii; the first letter finely gilt and illuminated.

Vaticinium Merlini; capital letters illuminated.

Vita Si. David; continued on the same page with the foregoing article.

Descriptio Hybernæ; a small manuscript in folio, written on vellum in old text hand, and rudely illuminated.

The above manuscripts of Giraldus are thus classed in the catalogue of the College.

Giraldus Cambrensis.

Descriptio Hybernæ 1149, 19.

Vaticinalis Historia 1149, 20.

Descriptio Cambriæ 1149, 22.

Itinerarium Cambriæ 1149, 23.

IN TRINITY COLLEGE.

Descriptio Cambriæ,

Tractatus retractationum,

Catalogus librorum, &c.

This manuscript in folio is written in a modern and legible hand, on paper.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

Descriptio Hybernæ.

Historia Vaticinalis.

1. A fine manuscript on vellum in folio, with the capital letters

illuminated, and the first lines of chapters coloured.—*Rawlinson MSS.*

2. *Topographia Hybernæ*; a fine manuscript in octavo, and antique binding of wood, with illuminated capitals.—*Laud MSS.*

3. *Topographia Hybernæ*; a manuscript in quarto, written in a running hand, with illuminated capitals.—*Bodleian MSS.*

4. *Epistola Giraldi Archidiaconi ad Gualterum Mape*; closely written in triple columns.—*Auctarium MSS.*

5. *Sermo Giraldi Archidiaconi in Synodo Menevensi*.—*Auctarium MSS.*

Having given an account of all those manuscripts of Giraldus that have fallen under my own observation, and of which I have been able to gain any intelligence; it remains only for me to express my regret at having failed in finding the one noticed by Warton in his *Anglia Sacra*, which existed in the Westminster library at the time he composed that work. This manuscript was probably the original copy written by the author, as it appears to have been the only one to which a map of Wales was prefixed. Giraldus speaking of this map says, “Porro circiter id ipsum temporis, quo Cambriæ descriptionem stylo perstrinximus, *Mappam* ejusdem expressam, quatenus et natale solum non tantum literis, sed etiam protractionibus quibusdam, et quasi picturis variis, non incompetentibus aut indecentibus nostra foret opera declaratum, brevi in loculo, arctoque in folio loca quamplurima complectentes: eademque tum dilucidè et satis distinctè disponentes, non absque studioso labore propalavimus.”

Although we could not expect much local accuracy or correctness

of drawing from an engineer of the twelfth century, yet this chart might have assisted me in ascertaining the right position of the only two places in the Itinerary, which I have been at a loss to determine; * and should any of my readers be more fortunate than I have been in discovering the retreat of this interesting manuscript, I shall feel myself highly indebted for their communications on the subject.

* *Castrum Deudraeth*, Lib. ii. Cap. 6, and the *Album Monasterium*, Lib. ii. Cap. 12,

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY OF CAMBRIA,
FROM

THE FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS
TO THE YEAR 1188, WHEN ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN
MADE HIS PROGRESS THROUGH WALES.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONGST the numerous books which have of late years been published respecting Wales, few have entered into the early history of that country, or have treated of that particular period, when it was struggling with the Roman legions for liberty and independence; a period, which is rendered highly interesting to the traveller, from the numerous Roman antiquities that are dispersed throughout every part of the Principality. But to trace with greater accuracy the progress of the Roman army through Wales, it will be necessary to give some previous account of their proceedings in Britain. I shall therefore commence my sketch from the æra of the first invasion of our island by Julius Cæsar, and continue it to the time of the complete subjugation of that particular part of it called Cambria, by Julius Agricola.

FIRST AND SECOND EXPEDITIONS OF THE ROMANS, UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR, INTO BRITAIN.

THE first expedition of Cæsar into Britain has been fixed by Dr. Halley in the year 55 before Christ, when, after a successful campaign against the *Sicambri* on the Rhine, this general turned his attention towards our island, having gained certain intelligence

that the Gauls, during their wars with Rome, had received assistance from the natives of Britain. The season was far advanced, and, although Cæsar foresaw that he could not finish the war before the commencement of winter, yet he was aware that great future advantage would result, if he should take only a partial view of the island, learn the nature of its inhabitants, and acquaint himself with the coast, harbours, and landing-places, of which the Gauls were perfectly ignorant; for at that time none but merchants resorted to Britain, and their knowledge of the country was limited to the sea coast and the parts opposite to Gaul.

Before he embarked himself, he dispatched *C. Volusenus* with a galley to gain some information about the island and its inhabitants, ordering him to return with all possible expedition, as soon as he had acquired the necessary knowledge. In the mean time, he marched with his army into the territory of the *Morini*,^a because from thence the passage into Britain was the shortest; and ordered a great many ships from the neighbouring ports to attend him, and the fleet he had employed during the preceding year in his expedition against the *Veneti*.^b

The Britons, being apprised of his design by the merchants who

^a The *Morini* inhabited the maritime part of the country of Artois, from below Boulogne to above Calais, under their capital *Taruenna*, or Terouenne.

^b The *Veneti* inhabited that projecting point of land in France, wherein Cherbourg and Valognes (*Crociatonum*) are situated.

They are mentioned by Cæsar as the most powerful of all the nations on the sea coast, not only on account of their numerous shipping, wherewith they carried on a considerable trade to Britain, and their great skill and experience in navigation; but because being situated on an extensive and open coast, against which the sea rages with great violence, and where the havens are few in number, most of the nations, who traded in those seas, became tributaries to their state. Cæsar, *Lib. III.*

resorted to their island, sent ambassadors to Cæsar, with an offer of hostages, and submission to the authority of the people of Rome. To these he gave a favourable audience; and exhorting them to continue in the same mind, sent them back into their own country, accompanied by *Comius*, King of the *Attrebates*,^c whom he charged to visit as many states as he could, and persuade them to enter into an alliance with the Romans; informing them at the same time, that Cæsar intended to come over in person to their island. *Volusenus* having taken a view of the country, as far as was possible for one who had resolved not to quit his ship, or trust himself in the hands of the barbarians, returned on the fifth day, and acquainted Cæsar with his discoveries.

Having collected about eighty transports, which he thought would be sufficient for the conveyance of two legions,^d he distributed amongst the officers of his cavalry the remaining gallies; which, together with eighteen other vessels, were detained for their use at a neighbouring port. Cæsar weighed anchor about one in the morning, having ordered his cavalry to embark at the

^c The Attrebates inhabited the country about Amiens in Picardy, under its capital *Nemetacum*, or Arras.

^d These two legions were the *seventh* and *tenth*, amounting (according to Horsley) to 12,000 men, independent of the cavalry; but I am inclined to think that this learned writer has overrated their numbers. The Roman legion varied very much at different periods of the Republic and Empire. The number was by Romulus fixed at 3000; and, according to Plutarch, after the reception of the Sabines into Rome, was increased to 6000. The common number afterwards, in the early period of the republic, was 4000: in the war with Hannibal it rose to 5000; after which it probably sunk to about 4000 or 4200, which was the number in the time of Polybius. In the age of Julius Cæsar we do not find any legions exceeding the Polybian number of men; and he himself expressly speaks of two legions that did not make above 7000 men between them. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, p. 191.

other port,^e and follow him; but as these orders were slowly executed, he reached the coast of Britain before them, about ten in the morning, where he saw the cliffs covered with the enemy's forces.^f Not thinking this spot a convenient place for landing, he resolved to lie by till three in the afternoon, and wait the arrival of the rest of his fleet. Meanwhile he summoned his lieutenants and military tribunes to a council, informed them of what he had learned from *Volusenus*, and instructed them in the part they were to act hereafter.

Finding the wind and tide favourable, he made the signal for weighing anchor; and after sailing about eight miles farther, stopped over against a level and open shore.^g

The Romans with difficulty effected a landing, and the Britons defended their shores with the greatest bravery and obstinacy; but they were at length repulsed, and, on holding a council, dispatched ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for peace. Cæsar, having upbraided them with their treacherous behaviour towards *Comius*, whom without any provocation they had loaded with irons as soon as he landed in Britain, granted them forgiveness, and ordered them to send a certain number of hostages. Thus a peace was concluded four days after the arrival of Cæsar in Britain; but it was very shortly broken by the Britons, who, availing themselves of the disasters occasioned to the Roman ships by a storm, which not only dispersed the eighteen transports in which the cavalry was embarked, but did

^e The other port, called by Cæsar the *portus ulterior*, at which his cavalry embarked was Calais, eight miles distant from the *Portus Itius*, which was Wissan, and from whence he set sail with his infantry.

^f These *loca superiora* were the cliffs near Dover.

^g This *apertum ac planum littus* was the shore near Deal.

considerable damage to the vessels at anchor near the shore, reunited their forces, and attacked the seventh legion with success; but they were afterwards routed, and induced to sue again to Cæsar for peace, which he granted, on their promising to deliver up double the number of hostages he had formerly claimed.

SECOND CAMPAIGN.

CÆSAR, having ordered his lieutenants in Gaul to build as many ships as they could during the winter, and having given them particular directions as to the form of their construction,^h proceeded into Italy. On his return to Gaul he found that his soldiers had with the greatest diligence prepared six hundred transports and twenty-eight gallies ready for launching. These he ordered to rendezvous at *Portus Itius*, or Wissan, from whence he knew there was the most commodious passage from Gaul into Britain. “*Omnes ad Portum Itium convenire jubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam trajectum esse cognoverat circiter millium passuum xxx à continenti*”

From this port Cæsar set sail with five legionsⁱ of infantry, and two thousand cavalry. He weighed anchor about sun set, and wafted by a gentle south wind, continued his course till midnight, when he found himself becalmed; but the tide driving him forward, at day break he saw the island of Britain on his left. Following the return of the tide, he endeavoured by rowing to reach that part of

^h In prescribing the form and manner of building these vessels, he ordered them to be somewhat lower and broader than those used in the Mediterranean, for the convenience of embarking and landing his troops and cavalry.

ⁱ Of these legions we only know the seventh.

the coast which, during the preceding summer, he had marked out as the most convenient place for landing. The whole fleet reached the coast of Britain about noon, nor did any enemy appear in view: but Cæsar was informed by some captives, that a large body of Britons had repaired to the coast, but terrified at the sight of so large a fleet, amounting to upwards of eight hundred vessels, had retired in the greatest dismay to their strongholds amongst the hills.

Cæsar, having landed his army, and chosen a fit place for his camp,^k proceeded about midnight in search of the enemy, whom after a march of twelve miles he found posted behind a river^l with their cavalry and chariots, and ready to dispute its passage. Being repulsed by the Roman horse, they retreated towards the woods into a place strongly fortified by nature and art;^m for all the avenues were secured by strong barricades of felled trees. The Britons seldom sallied out of the wood, and were chiefly intent upon guarding the entrance of their stronghold; but the soldiers of the seventh legion forced their intrenchments with little loss, and obliged the enemy to abandon the wood. Cæsar, however, forbade all pursuit, being unacquainted with the nature of the country to which the Britons had retreated.

A second storm having disabled the Roman fleet, Cæsar, to avoid a similar calamity, ordered his ships to be drawn on shore, and inclosed within the fortifications of his camp; in which laborious undertaking ten days were employed. Cæsar, on his return to the

^k At Richborough (*Rutupæ*), where there was afterwards a Roman station.

^l The Stour near Fordwich and Sturry, to the east of Canterbury.

^m *Durovernum*, or Canterbury.

place where he had quitted the pursuit of the enemy, found the forces of the Britons considerably increased, and the sole conduct of the war conferred on *Cassivellaunus*, whose territories were divided from the maritime states by the Thames, a river eighty miles distant from the sea. “*Cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit quod appellatur Tamesis, à mari circiter millia passuum LXXX.*”^a Cæsar, during his march towards this river, had several skirmishes with the Britons; one of which was *probably* at Newington, near London, where the name of *Key Col*^o seems to be a modern corruption from *Caii Collis*; and where the Romans were surprised in the act of fortifying their camp. The Britons attacked him in detached parties, and studiously avoided a general engagement; the Romans, however, proved victorious, and at last continued their march unmolested to the banks of the Thames. This river was fordable only in one place, and that not without great difficulty, “*Quod flumen uno omninò loco pedibus, atque hoc ægrè*

^a Cassivellaunus was king over the Dobuni and Cassii, two tribes, whose dominions extended on the north bank of the Thames, under the general name of Catieucani, from the Severn to the Brent (where they joined the kingdom of the Trinobantes), and were exactly *eighty* miles distant from the sea, as represented by Cæsar.

^o This camp, which the Romans fortified, was probably at Key Col (or Caii Collis), on the Watling-street, not far from Newington, where there are remains of entrenchments. *Keycol* hill, at the thirty-eighth mile stone, seems to be the same as *Caii Collis*, or Cæsar's hill, and *Key-street* beyond it seems to imply *Caii Stratum*, or Caius's-street, and *Standard* hill, about half a mile southward of Newington, seems to refer to some military circumstance. On *Keycol* hill is a field, in which Roman urns and vessels have continually been turned up by the plough, and which, from the broken remains dispersed over it, has gained the name of *Crockfield*. These evidences of its having been inhabited by the Romans, and some trenches and earthen works still remaining, seem to prove it to have been a military post. See Hasted's *Kent*, 8vo. Vol. VI. p. 44.

transiri potest." On his arrival, he found the enemy drawn up in great numbers on the opposite side: they had secured the banks with sharp stakes, and had driven many of the same kind into the bed of the river, yet so as to be covered by the water.^p Yet, undaunted by these obstacles, the Roman cavalry and legions forded the stream, attacked the Britons, and put them to flight. Meantime, the *Trinobantes*^q send ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for peace, which he grants; their example is followed by the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cassii*;^r and from them he learns, that he is

^p The first ford on the Thames is at Richmond, and, as nearly as possible, eighty miles from Richborough. Some antiquarians have fixed this passage near Oatlands, and have childishly mistaken the *stakes at Coway* for the fortification made by the Britons. These are only the remains of an *old wear*; and are so far from being on the opposite bank to prevent the enemy's passing the river, that they are placed *across* the stream. Two dissertations have been published in the *Archæologia*, on Cæsar's passage of the Thames; the one by S. Gale, in the first volume; the other by Daines Barrington, in the second.

^q The Trinobantes were inhabitants of Essex, and a small part of Hertfordshire and Middlesex, under their capital *Camalodunum*, or Lexden, which afterwards, in the time of Claudius, was removed to Colchester.

^r The Cenimagni inhabited Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and part of Northamptonshire, under their capital, first *ad Taum*, now Taesborough, afterwards of *Venta*, Castor near Norwich.

The Segontiaci, a small tribe possessing a part of the south-west district of Berkshire, and a little of the north of Hampshire, under its capital *Vindomis* (unknown.)

The Ancalites, certainly mistaken for the Atrebates (as the former are mentioned by no other author), possessed Berkshire, and a small part of Hampshire, under their capital *Calleva*, or Silchester.

Bibroci (the Celtic name for the people called afterwards, when inhabited by a Belgic tribe, Rhemi, or Regni) possessed Sussex, Surry, a very small part of Kent and Berkshire, under their capital *Noviomagus*, or Holwood Hill.

Cassii, one of the tribes of the Catienclani, possessing the greater part of Hertfordshire, all Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and a part of Oxfordshire, under their capital *Verulamium*, or Old *Verulam*, the ruins of which are still visible at a short distance from the town of St. Albans in Hertfordshire.

not far distant from the capital of *Cassivellaunus*, which was situated amidst woods and marshes, and whither great numbers of men and cattle had retired. Thither he marched with his legions, and although the place appeared to be very strongly fortified, both by nature and art, he nevertheless resolved to assail it in two several quarters. The Britons, unable to resist the attack of the Roman legions, retreated out of their town, leaving vast numbers of cattle behind them.*

Cassivellaunus in the mean time dispatches messengers into Kent, ordering the British princes of that district to take up arms, and attack the naval camp of the Romans; but they fail in their attempt, and one of their chieftains, *Cingetorix*, is taken prisoner; upon which *Cassivellaunus*, discouraged by so many losses, the devastation of his territories, and the revolt of many provinces, sends ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for peace, which, through the mediation of *Comius*, he obtains. The frequent commotions in Gaul requiring his presence in that country, Cæsar demands hostages of the Britons, and having imposed upon them a yearly tribute, repairs to the sea-coast, re-embarks his troops, and with them quits the island. Thus ended the *second* campaign of the Romans in Britain, during which, though they made a greater progress into the interior of the country than in the *first*, yet they cannot be said to have conquered the island, or to have formed any permanent settlement in it. In this light it was certainly considered by many of the Roman poets and historians. Tacitus says, “*Primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prosperâ pugnâ terruerit incolas, ac littore politus sit,*

* This capital of the British King Cassivellaunus, taken by Cæsar, was *Verulam*.

potest videri *ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse.*" Even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans who set his foot in Britain at the head of an army, can only be said, by a prosperous battle, to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the sea-shore. The *discoverer*, and not the *conqueror* of the island, he did no more than shew it to posterity. The poet Lucan even hints that Cæsar shewed his *back* to the Britons :

“ Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.”

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

FIRST CAMPAIGN.

Cæsar embarking his infantry from *Portus Itius* (Wissan), and his cavalry from the *ulterior portus* (Calais), makes the land near the heights of Dover, on the 26th of August, 55 before the Christian æra; and sailing up the channel eight miles further, debarks near Deal. In this first expedition no very decisive victory was gained over the Britons. The Roman general re-embarks about the 20th of September following.

SECOND CAMPAIGN.

Cæsar embarking again from *Portus Itius*, in May, 54 before Christ, is carried by the tide beyond the shore where he intended to have landed, as far as the North Foreland; when rowing back, he makes the same port at which he disembarked the year before, near Deal. He now fixes a permanent camp at Richborough, and marching on the British way, called *Walling-street*, to the banks of the Stour, near Fordwich, forces the intrenchments of the Britons, who were posted on the opposite side at Sturry, A. The seventh legion then storms and takes the strong British post of *Durovernum*, or Canterbury. Cæsar engages Cassivellaunus at *Key Col* near Newington, B, and pursuing his march along the *Walling-street*, is prevented passing the Thames opposite London. He is forced therefore to march up the river to the first ford, C, near Richmond, where, crossing the Thames in spite of the Britons who opposed him, he regains the *Walling-street* near Brockley Hill, D,

and continues upon it to *Verulam*, the capital of Cassivellaunus. After taking *Verulam*, the *Trinobantes*, with most of the smaller clans adjoining the Thames having submitted; he returns through London by the *Walling-street* to Richborough, from whence he re-embarks about the middle of September.

AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS.—During the reigns of these two Emperors no advantage was taken, either of the knowledge, or of the partial victories which their predecessor Julius Cæsar had gained in Britain.[†] The former in his last testament recommended to his successor not to enlarge the limits of the empire, “*addiderat consilium coercendi intrâ terminos imperii*,” a maxim which Tiberius readily adopted. “*Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat; Tiberius præceptum.*” Augustus called it the wisdom of his councils, and Tiberius made it a rule of state policy.

CALIGULA:—This successor of Tiberius had formed hostile designs against Britain, but never executed them. “*Agitasse Caium Cæsarem de intrandâ Britannia satis constat; ni velox ingenio, mobilis pœnitentiâ, et ingentes adversùs Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent.*” That Caligula meditated an invasion of Great Britain, is a fact well known; but this expedition, like his mighty preparations against Germany, was rendered abortive, by the capricious temper of the man, resolving always without consideration, and repenting without experiment.

Suetonius, in the life of this emperor, says, “that he did nothing more in this campaign, than take under his protection *Adminius*,

[†] *Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britannia etiam in pace.*

the son of *Cunobelin*, a British king, who being banished by his father, had fled for succour to the Roman camp. Vain, as if he had subdued the whole island of Britain, he wrote pompous letters to Rome, ordering the messengers who conveyed them, not to dismount from their chariots till they reached the door of the senate, nor to deliver his dispatches to the consuls, but in the temple of Mars, and in a very crowded assembly :” “ *Nihil autem ampliùs quàm Adminio Cunobellini Britannorum regis filio, qui pulsus à patre, cum exiguâ manu transfugerat, in deditionem recepto, quasi universâ traditâ insulâ, magnificas Romam literas misit, monitis speculatoribus, ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent, nec nisi in æde Martis, ac frequenti senatu consulibus traderent.*”

A Greek historian (Dion) has been more particular in describing the ridiculous conduct of this emperor. “ *Caligula* advancing towards the sea-coast, as if intending to carry the war into Britain, placed his army in battle array along the shore, embarked on board a galley, and after having gone a little way out to sea, returned suddenly; when mounting a throne, he gave the word of command to his soldiers, ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, and then commanded his men to pick up shells. Possessed of these spoils, and vaunting, as if he had subdued the very ocean, he rewarded his army liberally, and conveyed away his shells in triumph to Rome.”

CAMPAIGN OF PLAUTIUS IN BRITAIN, A. D. XLIII.

THE next expedition of the Romans into Britain took place in the year 43; of which the historian Dion Cassius has left the following particular account.^u He says, that the Emperor Claudius, by the instigation of a Briton, named *Bericus*, who had been driven out of the island for sedition, sent an army into Britain under the command of *Aulus Plautius*, who experienced great difficulty in prevailing upon his troops to leave Gaul; as they expressed their resentment in carrying on a war, as it were, out of the world: "*indignè ferentem quòd extrà orbem terrarum bellum esset gerendum;*" nor would they obey his commands, until the favourite *Narcissus*, at the desire of Claudius, mounted the tribunal and began to harangue the people. The soldiers, still more irritated at this proceeding, would not suffer him to speak, but crying out "*Io Saturnalia,*" (for it was customary on the feast of the *Saturnalia* for slaves to take upon themselves the character and authority of their masters,) they willingly and immediately followed their commander *Plautius*. He divided his army into three parts, as by endeavouring to land in one place, they might be frustrated in their attempt: "*copiis in tres partes distractis, ne uno loco appellentes, prohiberi litore possint.*" They suffered some anxiety on their passage from

^u The Britons had enjoyed a state of peace and tranquillity, unmolested by the Romans, for nearly a century, when the Emperor Claudius undertook his first expedition against them; and from this period, A. D. 43, the history of the Romans in Britain may be said to commence.

^x The three places at which the Roman army landed, were, probably, *Lympne* (*Portus Lemanus*), *Dover* (*Dubræ*), and *Richborough* (*Rutupæ*).

being driven back by the wind ; but on seeing a light pass from the east towards the west, in which direction they were sailing, they took courage and made good their landing, without any opposition from the natives of the island ; for the Britons, little aware of their hostile intentions, had not assembled their forces ; but took refuge in the woods and marshes ; hoping by delay to tire out the Romans, and oblige them to depart without accomplishing the object of their expedition, as they had done under Julius Cæsar. Plautius at length found them out, and having learnt that they no longer enjoyed the privileges of a free and united state, but were under the control of separate kings, he at first subdued *Cataratacus*, and afterwards *Togodumnus*, the son of the deceased king *Cunobelin*.[†] He afterwards received submission from the *Boduni*,[‡] who were subject to the *Catuellani* : and having stationed a garrison[§] with them, he advanced towards a river, “ *ad fluvium quendam progressus est*,” on the opposite banks of which the Britons lay careless, and, as they thought, secure in their camp.^b The Roman general sent forward

[†] The positive site of these engagements is now unknown ; but as Plautius’s line of march must have been on the *Watling-street* to London, I should suppose the first was in the woody and marshy part of Kent, near Southfleet, where the Romans afterwards built their station of *Vagniacæ* ; and the second on his entering the immediate territories of *Cunobelin*, somewhere on Hounslow Heath, in the country of the *Cassii*.

[‡] The *Boduni* (or *Dobuni*) possessed part of Gloucestershire, all Worcestershire, and westward to the middle of Oxfordshire, under their capital *Corinium*, or Cirencester.

[§] This garrison was at *Corinium*, or Cirencester, in Gloucestershire.

^b This river, I know not for what other reason but the mistaking the meaning of the words *progressus est*, which Horsley has translated “ *advanced forwards*,” has been almost universally supposed to have been the Severn ; but if it had been so, how could the Britons, after the Romans had passed the river and defeated them, have fled to the marshes of Essex, where we next find them, hemmed up by Plautius till the arrival of

his German troops, who were accustomed to swim over the most rapid streams, even in armour; and who, surprising the enemy unexpectedly, directed their attack not against the men, but against the horses, which were harnessed to the chariots. He afterwards dispatched *Flavius Vespasianus* and his brother *Sabinus*, who, crossing the river, put many of the Britons to death: the rest, however, did not betake themselves to flight, but risked a battle on the following day, the fate of which remained for some time doubtful, but was at length decided in favour of the Romans by *C. Sidius Geta*, who narrowly escaped being taken prisoner.^c After this defeat, the Britons retreated to the river Thames, where it empties itself into the sea, and overflowing, stagnates,^d which, from their knowledge of its fords, they crossed in safety; but the Romans, in pursuing them, incurred great danger. Some of the Germans swimming over the

the Emperor Claudius? Had the Severn been the river in question, they could have retreated to no place but to the interior parts of Wales. I therefore place the British camp at *Dorocina*, or *Dorchester*, in Oxfordshire, on the western banks of the river Thames; and that of the Romans on *Sinodun Hill*, from whence they could plainly see the disposition of the enemy beneath them on the other side of the river. The great object of *Plautius* was, first to reduce *Cirencester*, the capital of the *Dobuni*, (*Corinium*), and next *Verulam*, that of the *Cassii*, in his way against the *Trinobantes*: on which account the Britons posted themselves on the eastern banks of the river Thames, to prevent the emperor, after having conquered the *first*, from proceeding against the *second*.

^c The Britons, after their defeat at *Dorchester* on the banks of the Thames, naturally fled to their fortresses on the *Chiltern* hills, on their way into *Essex*; and this scene of action between them and *Geta* was, perhaps, near *Nettlebed* in Oxfordshire, where there are still the remains of a Roman camp.

^d I suppose this retreat to the river Thames was made on the great British road leading from *Dorchester* to *Verulam* and *Essex*, at the extreme parts of which county, near the mouth of the Thames, (viz. the low lands on the coast between *Canvey Island* and *Malden*), the land was at that time continually overflowed by the tide.

river, and others crossing it by a bridge, attacked the Britons on all sides, and made great havock; but, on rashly pursuing them, they fell into some dangerous bogs, and lost many of their men: *Plautius*, finding that the Britons, by no means disheartened at the death of their leader *Togidumnus*, made vigorous preparations to avenge his death, proceeded no further; but, having secured his conquests by a garrison,^c sent for the Emperor *Claudius*, who had given him orders so to do, if he met with any violent opposition.

CAMPAIGN OF CLAUDIUS.

ON the arrival at Rome of the messenger dispatched by *Plautius*, the emperor entrusted the civil and military command to his colleague *Vitellius*, and sailing from the port of *Ostia*, landed at *Marseilles*. From this place he proceeded, partly by land and partly by rivers, to the shores of the ocean at *Gessoriacum*, (or *Boulogne*), from whence he passed over into Britain, and marched directly to his army, who were waiting for him at their camp on the *Thames*: “*transmisitque in Britanniam, et ad copias ad Tamesin se expectantes perrexit.*” Assuming the military command, he crossed the river, attacked the Britons, who, on the news of his arrival, had collected

^c It was very natural for a politic general, like *Plautius*, when he had hemmed up the Britons in a place from whence they could not possibly escape, to send for *Claudius*, that the emperor might have the credit of reducing the enemy without running the least risk; and any person will see that a strong force, like that of *Plautius*, in possession of the three British stations of *London*, *Rumford*, and *Chelmsford*, with the military road connecting them together, and with the advanced posts at *Malden* and *Langdon Hill*, must reduce an enemy like the Britons cooped up in the marshes of *Essex* between the *Blackwater* and the *Thames*: and cut off from all communication with their allies, and even their own capital at *Lexden*.

their troops; and, having defeated them, took *Camulodunum*, or Colchester, the capital of King *Cunobelin*.^f On the news of this victory, many of the Britons voluntarily surrendered, and others were obliged to do so by force. Claudius deprived them of their arms, and having appointed *Plautius* their governor, with orders to extend his conquests, returned to Rome after an absence from that city of six months, and a campaign in Britain of sixteen days, “*se-decim tantum diebus in Britannia actis*.” This expedition procured him the honours of a splendid triumph, annual games, a trophied arch in Rome, and another in Gaul, on the spot from whence he had crossed over into Britain; and his son was permitted to assume the title of *Britannicus*.

The Roman historians generally agree in giving Claudius the merit of this expedition into Britain; Tacitus says, that “he did

^f Claudius, embarking at *Gessoriacum*, or Boulogne, lands on the coast of Kent, at *Richborough*, and marching on the *Watling-street* to Rochester, turns to the right, and crossing the Thames near Tilbury, joins the head quarters of his army; when marching against the enemy, he defeats them, and takes their capital at *Lexden*. The head quarters of the Roman army under *Plautius* were probably either at *Durolitum*, near Rumford, or at *Cæsaromagus*, near Chelmsford, till the arrival of the Emperor Claudius. I prefer the *latter*, being the port of the greater consequence, as with its advanced camp of Malden, it cut off the communication of the Britons with their capital at *Lexden*, and prevented their retreat before the arrival of Claudius. The reasons for my supposing this place to have been the British capital, are as follows: 1. The earthen works still existing there are totally unaccountable, unless they are the remains of the chief city of the *Trinobantes* before the building of Colchester. 2. That Colchester was not fixed on the site of the British city, we are certain, from its being purely Roman in its form; besides, the station was removed to Colchester for the beauty of its situation. *Lexden*, in fact, was to Colchester, what the Brill was to Chichester, and Maiden Castle to Dorchester. Had Colchester been built on the site of the British city, it would probably still have retained some marks of the prior works, as we see at Kenchester, Silchester, Cirencester, Bath, &c. &c. &c.

the business," *divus Claudius auctor operis*; and Eutropius tells us, "that no one since the time of Julius Cæsar had made any attempt upon the island, which having subdued by the means of *Cneius Sentius* and *Aulus Plautius*, he gained a splendid triumph." The same historian adds, that he added some islands called *Orchades* to the Roman dominion, and gave his son the name of *Britannicus*.^g

The following inscription,^h though much mutilated, seems to have alluded to the conquest of Britain by this emperor:

*Ti.Clav*DIO.CÆS
*Augv*STO
*Pontific*L.MAX TR.P.IX
*Cos.v̄.im*P.XVI.P.P
*Senatvs.po*PVL.Q.R.QVOD
*Reges.Brit*ANNIÆ.ABSQ
*Vlla.iactv*RA.DOMVERIT
*Gentesqve.b*BARBARAS
Primvs.indic IO.SVBEGERIT.

*Tito Claudio Cæsari Augusto Pontifici Maximo tribuno plebis IX,
 Consuli V. Imperatori XV. patri patriæ, Senatus Populusque Romanus,*

^g *Britanniæ intulit bellum, quam nullus Britannorum post J. Cæsarem attigerat; eâque devictâ per Cneium Sentium et Aulum Plautium, illustres et nobiles viros, triumphum celebrem egit. Quasdem insulas etiam ultrâ Britanniam in oceano positas, Romano imperio addidit, quæ appellantur Orchades; filioque suo Britannici nomen imposuit. Eutropius, lib. vii. cap. 8.*

^h This inscription (of which I have given a faithful copy) is preserved in the high wall surrounding the Barberini palace at Rome. The letters printed in capitals are antique, the others are restored. The deficiency is such as to leave an extensive scope to conjecture.

quod Reges Britanniæ absque ullâ jacturâ domuerit, gentesque barbaras primus indicio subegerit.

Camden also records another inscription upon an oblong plate of lead, that was discovered near a cavern called *Wookey Hole* in Somersetshire.

TI. CLAUDIVS. CAESAR. AVG. P. M.

TRIB. P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN.

Titus Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunus plebis IX. imperator XVI. de Britanniâ.

Also a coin bearing this inscription,

TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIIII.

IMP. XVI. P. P.

Titus Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunus plebis IX. Imperator XVI. Pater Patriæ.

The inscription at Rome agrees in a great measure with those in England; and they all bear the date of the *sixteenth* year of Claudius's empire.

Though we may collect from the Roman historians, that *Vespasian's* exploits in Britain were of the most brilliant nature; we are at a loss to know *where* his numerous battles took place. We are informed that this general came into Britain at the head of the *second* legion, and that he was instrumental to the defeat of the Britons on the Thames near Dorchester. We are told by his biographer, Suetonius, that he fought *thirty* battles with the Britons,

overcame two very powerful nations,ⁱ took more than twenty towns, and reduced the isle of Wight, under the orders of Plautius, and of the Emperor Claudius “*In Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque XX. oppida, et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam, in ditionem redegit; partim Auli Plautii consularis, partim Claudii ipsius ductu.*” Eutropius states, that the number of battles fought amounted to *thirty-two*. In one of these engagements, he was surrounded by the Britons and rescued from the most perilous situation by the bravery of his son Titus. “*In Britannia circumdato à barbaris Vespasiano, et in extremo periculo versante, Titus filius ejus, patri metuens, coronam hostium incredibili audacia disjecit,*”—*Dion. lib. 60.*

Plautius returned to Rome and received the honours of a triumph, in reward of his military exploits in Britain. “*Plautius Britannici belli causâ, quod egregie id gessisset, confecissitque, a Claudio laudatus est ac triumphavit.*”—*Dion. 685*; and Eutropius says, that the emperor attended him on this occasion to the Capitol. “*Plautium triumphantem ipse (Claudius) prosequeretur, et conscendenti Capitolium laevus incederet.*”—*Lib. vii. cap. 8.*

He was succeeded by *P. Ostorius Scapula*, A. U. C. 802, A. D. 50.

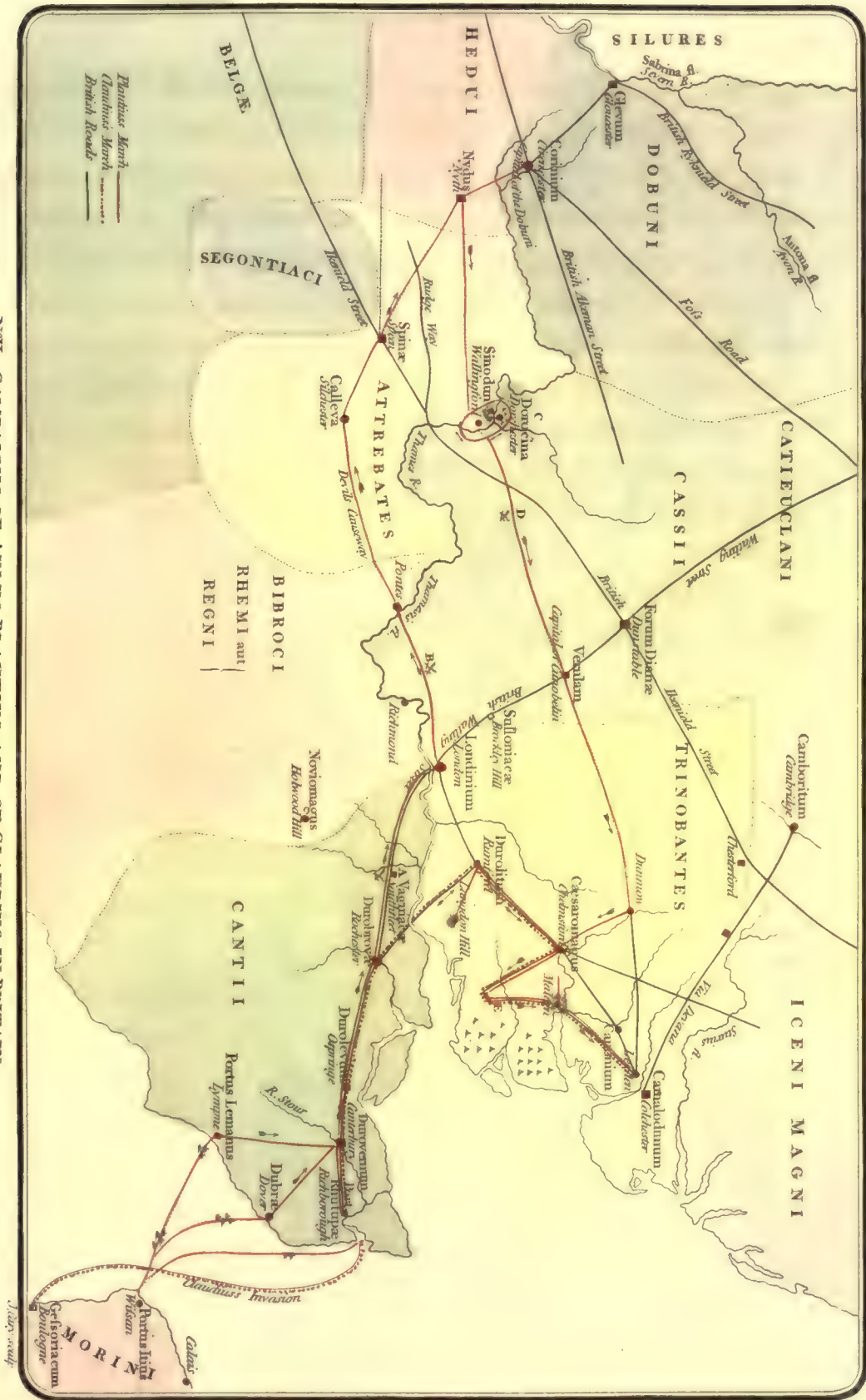
ⁱ These two powerful nations were probably the *Belgæ* and *Damnonii*.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

CAMPAIGNS OF PLAUTIUS AND CLAUDIUS IN BRITAIN, A. D. 43.

PLAUTIUS dividing his army into three parts, lands at Lympne (*Portus Lemanus*), Dover (*Dubræ*), and Richborough (*Rutupæ*). He marches from thence by the *Watling-street*, and first defeats *Catara-tacus* near Southfleet, A, and afterwards *Togodumnus* on Hounslow Heath at B, and continuing his progress by *Calleva* (Silchester) and *Spinæ* (Spene), takes the capital of the Dobuni at *Corinium*, or Cirencester, where he establishes a station. The Britons endeavouring to interrupt his return towards *Verulam*, the capital of *Cunobelin*, encamp on the borders of the Thames near *Dorocinæ*, or Dorchester, at C. Plautius taking possession of Sinodun Hill, and observing that the enemy lay in careless security, from the idea that the river was impassable to the Romans, ordered the Germans, who were accustomed to swimming, to pass the river above their camp, while Vespasian crossed with another part of the army below it, nearer to Wallingford, and falling upon them while they were opposing the Germans, totally routed them. The Britons retreat first to their fortresses on the Chiltern hills, where they are again beaten by Geta, near Nettlebed in Oxfordshire, at D. In despair, they now fly to the marshes of Essex, which lie between the mouth of the river Thames, and the Blackwater. Plautius follows them first to *Verulam*, and having secured the capital of *Cunobelin*, continues his march on the great road which connected London with

NII. CAMPAIGNS OF AULUS PLAUTIUS AND OF CLAUDIUS IN BRITAIN.



CAMPAIGNS OF OSTORIUS, DIDIUS, VERANIUS, SUETONIUS, TURPILIANUS, TREBELLIVS, BOLANUS, PETILIUS, FRONTINUS, AND AGRICOLA.

PLAUTIUS was succeeded in the government of Britain by *P. Ostorius Scapula*, A. D. 50. On his arrival he found the military affairs of the Romans in great confusion, the Britons having made inroads into the territories of their allies;^a on a supposition, that a new commander, at the head of an army as yet unknown to him, would not venture to open a winter campaign. *Ostorius* however, conscious that much depended on his first operations, put himself at the head of his light cohorts, and advanced rapidly against the enemy. He kills those who resist, and pursues the fugitives in order to prevent any future junction ; and thinking that peace in his present circumstances would be preferable to disguised hostility, he disarms the suspected, and erects a chain of forts along the banks of the rivers *Antona* and *Sabrina*,^b to check the hostile irruptions of the Britons.

^a The great nation of the *Iceni* ; who, alarmed at the conquest of the south-west part of England by Vespasian, instantly invaded the territories of those states which had formed alliances with the Romans.

^b “ Ille (*Ostorius*) gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni, citas cohortes rapit, et cæsis qui restiterant, disiectos consecutus, ne rursus conglobarentur, infensaque et infida pax non duci, non militi, requiem permetteret, detrahare arma suspectis, cinctosque castris *Antonam* et *Sabrinam*, fluvios, cohibere parat.” I cannot imagine how this passage of Tacitus could ever have been supposed to relate to a line of forts on the *Avon* (which runs from Bath) and the *Severn* ; for how could such a

The *Iceni*,^c a powerful nation, whose forces, by their adherence to the Romans, had remained unimpaired, now openly oppose their former allies; and by their instigation the neighbouring states join in the rebellion. They choose for the field of battle a spot encompassed by a rude rampart with only one narrow entrance,

line of fortification guard against the only enemy Ostorius had to fear, the *Iceni*? Lipsius, followed by Camden, seeing the impossibility of this *Antona* being applicable to the Avon in *Somersetshire*, wished to amend this passage by substituting *Aufona* in its place. Richard of Cirencester also, in his Commentary on Britain, describing the rivers on the eastern coast, says, "*Fluminum notissima sunt Garion (Yare), Suria (Stour), et Aufona in sinum Metorin sese exonerans.*" Now as we know that the *Sinus Metoris* was *Boston Deep*s, we have every reason to suppose that the *Aufona* was the river Nen; and from the unusual number of fortified posts on its eastern banks, we might almost conclude, that Tacitus had mistaken the *Antona* for the *Aufona*. A friend of mine was induced to examine this line attentively, and he found it almost completed on the eastern side as far as the *Watling-street*; while on the Avon, which runs from Warwick, and falls into the Severn near 'Tewksbury, (where Ostorius did not fear the enemy so much,) the greater stations only were finished, without the chain of connecting fortified posts between them.

^c The *Iceni*, under the two divisions of *Magni*, (which were also called *Cenomanni*, a corruption of *Iceni Magni*,) and *Coitani*, or *Coritani*, possessed all the country from the river Stour in Essex, to the banks of the Humber and the Don. The first, *Iceni Magni*, or *Cenomanni*, extended from the Stour to the banks of the *Aufona*, or Nen, having the towns of *Durnomagus*, or Water Newton on the Nen, and their capital *Venta Icenorum*, or Castor near Norwich; but the principal garrison occupied by the Romans among them was *Camboritum*, or Cambridge. In speaking of the *Iceni* here, I am mentioning them as when they were under the dominion of the Romans, for I believe before the Roman conquest, the capital of the *Iceni Magni* was *Tashborough*, afterwards removed to Castor near Norwich, the same as Lexden to Colchester, &c. &c.

The *Coitani*, or *Coritani*, possessed all the country northerly from the river Nen to the Humber and Don; whose capital was *Rata*, or *Ragæ* (Leicester), while the chief post occupied by the Romans among them was *Lindum*, or Lincoln. This people (the *Iceni*) had the *Trinobantes* and *Cassii* to the south, the *Brigantes* to the north, the German ocean to the east, and the dominions of the *Carnabii* to the west.

“*septum agresti aggere, et aditu angusto.*”^d *Ostorius*, though unsupported by his legions, led on the confederate forces, and having made preparations for the assault, ordered his cavalry to dismount, and to act with the infantry. The signal being given, the Romans forced the intrenchments, and the Britons, inclosed within their own fortifications, were thrown into great confusion; yet even in that distressful situation, conscious of their rebellion, and seeing no way to escape, they obstinately maintained the battle, and gave signal proofs of heroic bravery.

By this defeat of the *Iceni*, some of the states, who seemed to waver between peace and war, were quieted, and *Ostorius* marched against the *Cangi*.^e He had nearly reached the sea coast opposite to Ireland, when the news of an insurrection amongst the *Brigantes*^f brought him back. Till every thing was secured in his rear, it was his maxim not to push on his conquests. The *Brigantes* were soon brought to subjection; but the *Silures*^g could neither by severity nor clemency be induced to submit to the Roman yoke: “*Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementiâ mutabatur, quin bellum*

^d *Burrough-hill*, near Daventry in Northamptonshire; a British post exactly answering the description of Tacitus, at the very spot where the Romans were forming the station of *Benavenna*.

^e The *Cangi*, or *Cangiani*, were a small tribe who possessed the westerly part of Caernarvonshire under their capital *Segontium*, or *Caer Seieant*, and lying immediately opposite to Ireland.

^f The *Brigantes* possessed all the country on the east of England from the Humber to the Tyne, under their capital *Isurium*, or *Aldborough*, and extending westerly as far as the mountains of Lancashire and Westmoreland.

^g The *Silures*, with their subordinate tribes the *Dimetæ* and *Ordovices*, possessed all the country to the west of the Severn and the Dee, under their capital *Venta*, or *Caerwent*. Their territories comprehended not only Wales, but also such of the English counties as were situated to the west of those rivers.

exerceret, castrisque legionum premenda foret;" on which account the Roman general stationed his legions^h amongst them, and transported hither a strong body of veterans from the colony at *Camulodunum*,ⁱ not only to overawe the rebel insurgents, but to give to the allied states a specimen of law and civil policy.^k

We now are come to a very interesting period of the British history; a period, when the conquest of Cambria became the principal object of the Roman arms. The *Silures*, a hardy and warlike nation, felt confidence under their leader *Caractacus*, whose military character stood highly pre-eminent amongst the British chieftains. His knowledge of the country, and his skill in all the stratagems of savage warfare, gave him many advantages; but his army being inferior to that of the Romans, he thought proper to

^h These legions were the second, styled *Legio secunda Augusta*, which was stationed at *Isca Silurum*, or Caerleon, in Monmouthshire; and *Legio vicesima valens victrix*, stationed at *Deva*, or Chester.

ⁱ The British capital at Lexden being now neglected, this new colony was planted in the country of the *Trinobantes* at Colchester (*Camulodunum*), to protect the eastern provinces of England against the *Iceni*.

^k Ostorius now marches against the *Silures*. Although we know of no other great British roads that passed through Wales, but the two branches of the *Watling-street* in North, and the *Akeman* and *Ryknield* in South Wales; yet we may rest assured, that there were communications between all great towns. Of these British streets the *North Watling* entered North Wales by Chester, and passed by Bodfari and Caerhên; while its *southern* branch came from Shrewsbury by Festiniog, and tended to the great Irish port at Holyhead. The *Ryknield* street crossing the Severn at Gloucester, ran by Monmouth, Abergavenny, and Brecknock, through the middle of Wales; while the *Akeman* street coming from Cirencester, passed the Severn near the Old passage, and continued along the sea coast through Swansea, and both terminated at St. David's. The private road between Caerleon, Abergavenny, Kenchester, and Wroxeter, was the line on which the main body of Ostorius's army acted; and Brandon camp in Herefordshire, the place from whence he made the attack, and carried the fortified entrenchments of *Caractacus* at *Coxall Knoll*.

transfer the seat of war into the territory of the *Ordovices*,¹ and being joined by all those who were adverse to a peace with Rome, he determined to try the issue of a general battle. For this purpose, he selected a place where the approach and retreat were difficult to the enemy, and advantageous to himself. Those places where his post was not strengthened by nature, and where the acclivity afforded an easy approach, he fortified with ramparts of massive stones. A river with fords and shallows of uncertain depth flowed through the vale beneath his camp, which was guarded by a select band of his best troops.^m

¹ *Ordovices*, a clan subordinate to the Silures, and inhabiting all North Wales, and the country to the west of the Severn and the Dee, as far south as the rivers Teme and Dovey.

^m Many different situations have been ascribed to this scene of action between *Caractacus* and *Ostorius*; but none rest on such strong grounds of probability, as the stations of *Brandon camp* and *Coxall Knoll*. The first of these is situated a little to the west of the great Roman road leading from *Magna*, or Kenchester, to *Uriconium*, or Wroxeter, and between Wigmore and Lentwardine. Its square form, and the fragments of Roman pottery, which may still be picked up within its precincts, evidently prove its origin. The second is within sight, and distant from the Roman camp about three miles, and a little above the village of Brampton Brian. It crowns the summit of a lofty hill, well covered with oak trees, and is (like the generality of British fortresses) very irregular in its shape. The river Teme runs through the vale near the foot of the hill. Strong by nature, but made stronger by art; bold and wild as the chieftain who formed it. On a survey of these two camps, even the most lukewarm traveller will feel a certain degree of enthusiasm, when he recollects that an *Ostorius* stood on one camp, and a *Caractacus* on the other; and that their heroic deeds were recorded by the pen of a *Tacitus*. His satisfaction will be heightened, when he knows that they are the *undoubted* strongholds occupied by the Roman and British generals; for each particular related by the historian concerning their respective situations, coincides with the natural position of the river Teme, and the camps on *Brandon* and *Coxall* hills. To the scholar and antiquarian, the whole kingdom does not afford a more interesting or gratifying subject; let them observe the polished and simple form of the Roman camp, and the rude and natural features of the British.

Each chieftain was now busy in encouraging his men. *Carac-tacus* flew from post to post, exclaiming “ This day, this battle will give us liberty, or doom us to eternal slavery. Call to mind your ancestors, who drove away Julius Cæsar from the shores of Britain; who by their valour banished from your sight the Roman fasces and axes; who freed you from tribute, and rescued your wives and daughters from violation.” A general shout of applause gave confidence to their leader, and bespoke the sentiments of his brave associates.

The intrepid conduct of the Britons, the passage of the river, the steep ascent, and the strong well guarded rampart, struck *Ostorius* with dismay; but his soldiers, seconded by the prefects and tribunes, eagerly desired to be led on to battle, exclaiming that “ True valour was invincible.”

The Roman general having reconnoitred the ground, and observed where the defiles were impenetrable, or easy of access, gave the signal for action. The Romans forded the river without difficulty, and advanced boldly towards the rampart. Whilst the battle was fought with missile weapons, fortune seemed to favour the Britons; but when *Ostorius* ordered the rampart of stones to be thrown down, and the struggle became closer, and more obstinate; the Britons gave way, and fled with precipitation to the adjoining mountains. The Romans pursued them with eagerness, and gained a complete victory. The wife and daughter of the British chieftain were taken prisoners; and his brothers surren-

The Roman general depended alone on the strength of his arms, and the valour of his well disciplined legions; but the British chieftain called Nature to his assistance, and strengthened her by Art.

dered at discretion. *Caractacus* fled for protection to *Cartismunda*, Queen of the Brigantes. But adversity has no friends! he was loaded with irons, and delivered up to his conqueror.

The fame of this British chieftain, who for nine successive years had waged war against the Romans, was not confined to his native island, but had reached the shores of Italy, and its capital Rome. "*Ne Romæ quidem ignobile Caractaci nomen erat.*" The historian Tacitus has drawn so animated and interesting a picture of *Caractacus* in adversity, that I need make no apology to my readers for introducing it to his notice. "Even at Rome, the name of *Caractacus* was in high celebrity. Curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain, who for such a length of time resisted the arms of a great and powerful enemy. The Emperor Claudius, willing to magnify the glory of his conquest, bestowed the highest praise on the valour of the vanquished king. He assembled the people to behold a spectacle worthy of their view. In the field before the camp, the Prætorian bands were drawn up under arms; the followers of the British chief walked in procession. The military accoutrements, the harness and rich collars, which he had gained in various battles, were pompously displayed. The wife of *Caractacus*, his daughter, and brothers followed next; he himself closed the melancholy train. The rest of the prisoners, struck with terror, descended to mean and abject supplications. *Caractacus* alone was superior to misfortune. With a countenance still unaltered, not a symptom of fear appearing, no sorrow, no condescension, he behaved with dignity, even in ruin. Being placed before the tribunal, he thus addressed the assembly: "If to the nobility of my birth, and the splendour of exalted station, I

had united the virtues of moderation, Rome had beheld me, not in captivity, but a royal visitor and a friend. The alliance of a prince, descended from an illustrious line of ancestors; a prince, whose sway extended over many nations, would not have been unworthy of your choice. A reverse of fortune is now the lot of Caractacus. The event to you is glorious, and to me humiliating. I had arms, and men, and horses; I had wealth in abundance; can you wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? The ambition of Rome aspires to universal dominion; and must mankind, by consequence, stretch their necks to the yoke? I stood at bay for years: had I acted otherwise, where, on your part, had been the glory of conquest; and where, on mine, the honour of a brave resistance? I am now in your power; if you are bent on vengeance, execute your purpose; the bloody scene will soon be over, and the name of Caractacus will sink into oblivion. Preserve my life, and I shall be, to late posterity, a monument of Roman clemency." Claudius granted him a free pardon, and the same to his wife, his daughter, and his brothers.

"Si quanta nobilitas et fortuna mihi fuit, tanta rerum prosperarum moderatio fuisset, amicus potius, in hanc urbem, quàm captus venissem; neque dedignatus esses claris majoribus ortum, pluribus gentibus imperitantem, fœdere pacis accipere. Præsens sors mea, ut mihi informis, sic tibi magnifica est. Habui equos, viros, arma, opes. Quid mirum, si hæc invitus amisi. Non, si vos omnibus imperitare vultis, sequitur ut omnes servitutem accipiant? Si statim deditus traderer; neque mea fortuna neque tua gloria inclaruisset. Supplicium mei oblivio sequetur: at si incolumen servaveris, æternum exemplar clementiæ ero."

Such was the animated speech of the British chieftain before the Emperor Claudius, and in the Roman senate; some parts of which have been introduced most happily by Mr. Mason, in his dramatic poem of *Caractacus*.

—————“ Soldier, I had arms,
 Had neighing steeds to whirl my iron cars,
 Had wealth, dominion. Dost thou wonder, then,
 I fought to save them? What, if Cæsar aims
 To lord it universal o’er the world,
 Shall the world tamely crouch at Cæsar’s foot-stool?
 I am his slave, to treat as seems him good;
 If cruelly, ’twill be an easy task
 To bow a wretch, alas! how bowed already,
 Down to the dust—If well, his clemency,
 When trick’d and varnish’d by your glossing penmen,
 Will shine in honour’s annal, and adorn
 Himself.

The *Silures* neither disheartened by their defeat, nor by the captivity of their valiant chieftain, still continued in arms. They attacked, with success, some of the Roman officers, who were employed in constructing forts (in the southern parts of Wales), and who were with difficulty delivered from the enemy by the troops of some of the neighbouring garrisons. Desultory skirmishes became every day more frequent, and the spirit of the *Silures* remained unbroken; their animosity towards the Romans was heightened by a threat of *Ostorius*, intimating “ that even the

name of the *Silures* should be annihilated."ⁿ Two auxiliary cohorts, whom, from avarice, their prefects had sent forth to plunder, were intercepted; and the neighbouring states began to join in a confederacy against the Romans. During this declining state of affairs, *Ostorius*, worn out with anxiety, sunk under the fatigue, and expired; to the great joy of the Britons, who saw a brave and able commander, not indeed slain in battle, but overcome by the war. "*Cum tædio curarum fessus Ostorius, concessit vitâ; lætis hostibus tamquam ducem haud spernendum, et si non prælium, et certè bellum, absumpsisset.*"

A. D. 53. AULUS DIDIUS succeeded to the government of Britain. On his arrival, he found that the *Silures*, still in arms, had attacked with success, and defeated a legion,^o commanded by *Manlius Valens*. At this period, *Venusius*,^p since the captivity of *Caractacus*, was esteemed the most eminent in the knowledge of military affairs. He had married *Cartismunda*, the Queen of the Brigantes, and the betrayer of *Caractacus*; and as long as he continued upon good terms with her, remained a firm ally to the Romans; but when the queen supplanted him, and made *Velocatus* (the king's armour-bearer) partner of her bed and throne, *Venusius* became an enemy both to the British queen and to the Romans.

By this criminal act, *Cartismunda* lost all authority. Convulsions

ⁿ "Crebra hinc prælia, et sæpius in modum latrocinii: per saltus, per paludes, ut cuique sors, aut virtus; temerè, provisè; ob iram, ob prædam; jussu et aliquando ignaris ducibus. Ac præcipuâ *Silurum* pervicaciâ, quos accendebat vulgata imperatoris Romani vox: *Ut quondam Sugambri excisi: ita Silurum nomen penitus extinguendum.*

^o This was probably the *legio secunda Augusta*, stationed at Caerleon.

^p This officer is mentioned by Tacitus as being *ex civitate Iugantum*, which certainly should be read *Brigantum*.

shook her kingdom. The discarded husband had the good wishes of the people; the adulterer nothing to gratify him but a lewd and unmerciful queen. “*Concussa statim flagitio domus. Pro marito studia civitatis: pro adultero libido reginæ, et sævitia.*” *Venusius* at length reduced her to such distress, that she was obliged to apply to the Romans for assistance, who rescued her person from danger, though not her dominion. *Venusius* got the kingdom, and the Romans the trouble and charge of the war. “*Venusius regnum, bellum nobis relictum.*” During the several engagements which took place between *Venusius*, *Cartismunda*, and the Romans, *Didius* did not risk his own person; but acted by deputy, and entrusted the command of his army to inferior officers: he did not extend the Roman conquests; but seemed satisfied in merely keeping the Britons in check. “*Didius Gallus, parta de prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis. Nam Didius, senectute gravis, per ministros agere; et arcere hostem satis habebat.*”

Nero succeeded to the Roman empire, A. D. 54, and under his reign *Veranius* was appointed to the government of Britain. He made some slight incursions into the country of the *Silures*; but was prevented from prosecuting them by a premature death, within a year after his appointment to the government. He carried his flattery towards Nero, and his own ambition to so great a height, as in his last will to boast, that if he lived, he would subdue the whole island within the space of two years. “*Subjecturum ei provinciam esse, si biennio proximo vixisset.*” Suetonius informs us, that this emperor entertained thoughts of withdrawing his army from Britain, but was restrained from doing it by an unwillingness to

detract from the honour of Claudius. “ *Etiam ex Britannia exercitum deducere cogitavit.*”

To *Veranius* succeeded *Suetonius Paulinus*, a general distinguished for his military knowledge, caution, and moderation. By his natural temper slow and deliberate, he chose to take his measures with precaution, rather than hazard a sudden conflict, and owe his success to the chance of war. *Cunctator natura, et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione, quam prospera ex casu placerent. Nemo rei militaris callidior habebatur.*”

He continued the war with an uninterrupted success for two years; and depending upon the strong garrisons, which he had dispersed throughout the country, formed the plan of reducing the island of *Mona* (Anglesey), which had favoured the cause of the rebellious states. For this purpose he constructed a number of flat-bottom boats in which his infantry were carried over; and the cavalry either swam their horses across the river, or waded through the ford.¹ On this occasion the pen of the historian Tacitus has been unusually animated in describing the scene on the opposite coast of *Mona*. “There stood the Britons, close embodied, and prepared for action. Women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder; their apparel funereal; their hair loose to the wind, in their hands flaming torches; and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the furies. The Druids were ranged in order, with hands up-lifted, invoking the Gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations. The novelty of the sight struck the Romans

¹ This ford or passage over the Menai, which separates the island of Anglesey from the coast of Caernarvonshire, is supposed to have been from *Lhanvair is gaer* to *Llan Idan*.

with awe and terror. They stood in stupid amazement, as if their limbs were benumbed, rivetted to one spot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations of the general diffused new vigour through the ranks; and the men, by mutual reproaches, inflamed each other to deeds of valour. They felt the disgrace of yielding to a troop of women, and a band of fanatic priests; they advanced their standards, and rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons perished in the flames, which they themselves had kindled. The island fell, and a garrison was established to retain it in subjection. The religious groves, dedicated to superstition and barbarous rites, were levelled to the ground.

“ Igitur Monam insulam, incolis validam, et receptaculum perfugarum, aggredi parat, navesque fabricatur plano alveo, adversus breve littus et incertum. Sic pedes: equites vado secuti, aut altiores inter undas, adnantes equis, transmisere.

Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercurantibus feminis, in modum Furiarum, quæ veste feriali, crinibus dejectis, faces præferebant. Druidæque circum, preces diras, sublati ad cælum manibus, fundentes, novitate aspectûs perculere milites, ut quasi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein, cohortationibus ducis, ut se ipsi stimulant, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa, sternuntque obvios, et igni suo involvunt. Presidium post hoc impositum victis, excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri.”

In the midst of these operations *Suetonius* received advice, that the *Iceni*,[†] assisted by the *Trinobantes*, had taken up arms, and

[†] The *Iceni*, justly alarmed at the attempt which the Romans made to cover the eastern side of their conquest by placing the colony of *Camulodunum* at Colchester,

that the chief cause of their rebellion arose from the conduct of the veterans, who had been settled at *Camulodunum* (Colchester), and had driven the natives from their houses and possessions, calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives. The temple erected to Claudius, which the Britons looked upon as the citadel of eternal slavery, was another cause of their discontent. The defenceless state of the colony, and the absence of the Roman governor, induced the Britons to take up arms; and their hostile intentions were strengthened by the circumstance of the statue of Victory at *Camulodunum* falling down from its pedestal without any apparent cause, and which they construed as a good omen in their favour. In the absence of *Suetonius*, the Romans applied to *Catus Decianus*, the procurator of the province, for succours; but he could only spare them two hundred men, and those badly armed. The feeble garrison was overpowered, and the temple, though strongly fortified, held out a siege of only two days. The fate of *Petilius Cerealis*, who fled to the assistance of the colony was not more successful; for his legion (the ninth) was defeated, and all his infantry cut to pieces. He escaped with the cavalry to his intrenchments. The procurator *Catus Decianus*, alarmed at the scene of carnage which he beheld on every side, and dreading the indignation of a people whom, by rapine and oppression, he had driven to despair, betook himself to flight, and crossed over

having secured the co-operation of the Trinobantes, resolved to attack this station before it was completed; and, although it had received a small reinforcement of two hundred men from *Catus Decianus* (possibly at London), yet it was easily taken; and the victorious Britons afterwards defeated *Petilius Cerealis*, who was marching from *Verulam* (near St. Albans), to its relief with a part of the ninth legion.

into Gaul. “ *Quâ clade et odiis provinciæ, quam avaritiâ in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.*”

On the news of these disasters *Suetonius* left the Island of Anglesey, and marched with the greatest intrepidity through an hostile country to London,* a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce: “ *cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copiâ negociatorum et commeatuum maximè celebre.*” He was at first doubtful, whether he should not fix on that place as the seat of war; but when he considered the smallness of his own army, and the fatal temerity of *Petilius*, he determined by the sacrifice of one province to secure the rest; nor could the tears and intreaties of the inhabitants divert him from his intended plan. Those who could not follow him were put to death by the Britons; and the inhabitants of *Verulamium*, a municipal town, met with the same hard fate. So great was the slaughter committed in these struggles, that the loss of the Romans and their allies was computed at seventy thousand. The army of *Suetonius*, composed of the fourteenth legion,† the *vexillarii*‡ of the twentieth, and some auxiliaries,

* *Suetonius* having been, when this rebellion broke out in the east, engaged in his expedition against the Welsh, had no other means of retreating towards London, but by the great British road the *Watling-street*, which ran immediately from Wales by Wroxeter, Wall, High Cross, Towcester, and Verulam to London, and of course through a part of the dominions of the *Iceni* in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. Unable to defend either Verulam or London, he retreated over the Thames with the fourteenth legion and the *vexillarii* of the twentieth.

† It appears that this legion was ordered back into Italy by Nero; for A. D. 69, we find it mentioned as taking the lead in a rebellion abroad, and sent back again to Britain. “ *Remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit.*” Tacit. Hist. Lib. II. 66.

‡ The *vexillarii* are the same as our modern flank companies.

amounted to about ten thousand men; and with these he determines to bring the enemy to a decisive action; for which purpose he selects a spot,* that was guarded by a narrow entrance in front, and by a wood in the rear: an open plain lay before him, which secured him from the fear of ambuscade, and he knew the enemy could attack him only in front. His troops were drawn up in order of battle; but those of the Britons, who were very numerous, formed no regular line. *Boadicea*, attended by her two daughters, drove her chariot through the ranks, animating the Britons to action, conjuring them to assert their liberty, and revenge the insults committed on their nation by the Romans. Nor did *Suetonius* remain silent: "Despise," said he, "the savage uproar of these undisciplined barbarians; rush forward to a close attack; pursue the vanquished, and think not of spoil or plunder: conquer, and victory will give you every thing."

Fortune favoured the Romans; and the glory of the day was equal to the most splendid victory of ancient times. "*Clara et antiquis victoriis par eâ die laus parta.*" The loss on the side of the Britons was estimated at little less than eighty thousand; whilst that of the Romans did not amount to more than four hundred men killed, and about as many wounded. *Boadicea* put an end to her life by poison.

Suetonius having received a very seasonable reinforcement from Germany, consisting of two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse, which enabled him to recruit

* The scene of this engagement between the Romans and Britons is extremely doubtful. It was certainly south of London, and probably somewhere in the county of Surrey.

the ninth legion, pursued his hostilities against those of the enemy who either continued in rebellion, or were suspected of treacherous intentions. A misunderstanding between *Julius Classicianus*, the successor of *Catus Decianus*, and *Suetonius*, was a bar to peace. *Classicianus* had spread a report in Britain, that a new legate might shortly be expected, who, without the pride or anger of a conqueror, would act with clemency towards the natives. He also conveyed dispatches to Rome, saying, "that unless *Suetonius* was recalled, there would be no end to the war." In consequence of these complaints, *Polycletus*, one of Nero's freedmen, was sent to examine the state of Britain. The servile homage and obedience paid to him by the Roman army and their brave commander, astonished the Britons, in whose breasts, notwithstanding their late misfortunes, the flame of liberty still glowed, and who yet were ignorant of the power of a freedman. The Emperor Nero did not think fit, on the report of *Polycletus*, to remove *Suetonius* from his government; but the loss of a few ships, that were wrecked on the coast a short time afterwards, occasioned his recall.

A. D. 62. PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS succeeded to the government of Britain; who neither molesting the enemy, nor being molested by them, gave the specious name of peace to his own inactivity; and having composed some former disturbances, without attempting any thing further, he delivered up the province to *Trebellius Maximus*. "*Is, non irritato hoste, neque lacessitus, honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit; et compositis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit.*"

A. D. 65. TREBELLIVS, though inactive and inexperienced, yet by his urbanity retained the province in subjection. But his army

grew mutinous from want of employ, and *Trebellius*, to avoid their fury, was obliged to fly, and shamefully to compound the matter between them; he for his own safety, they for their licentiousness.

“Ac velut pactis, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem.”

A. D. 69. VECTIUS BOLANUS was the next governor of Britain. The same inactivity against the enemy, the same spirit of mutiny prevailed in his army; but the character of *Bolanus* was unblemished, and he lived beloved by all, though not respected.—*“Eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invisus, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.”* During the contest for power between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, we find that a reinforcement of choice troops was sent to the former from Britain: *“et advenisse mox Britannici exercitus robora.”* But when, by the captivity of *Valens*, the Vitellian cause began to decline, many of the Roman legions declared in favour of *Vespasian*. Amongst these was the second, who had not forgotten the heroic valour with which, on a former occasion, he had led them on to victory. *“Inclitus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundæ legioni à Claudio præpositus, et bello clarus egerat.”*

A. D. 71. But when Britain, with the rest of the Roman world, fell to the lot of *Vespasian*; powerful armies and the most experienced officers were collected, and the spirits of the natives began to droop. *“Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam receperavit; magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes.”* The first attack was made by *Petilius Cerealis* upon the powerful nation of the *Brigantes*, and attended with victorious success. He was most ably succeeded in the command of the army by *Julius Frontinus*, who surmounting every difficulty, which either the nature

of the country, or the obstinate perseverance of its inhabitants opposed to him, at length subdued the valourous nation of the *Silures*. "*Validam et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit; super virtutem hostium, locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.*"

A. D. 78. Such was the state of Britain, when the celebrated *Julius Agricola* assumed the command of the Roman legions. On his arrival, about the middle of summer, he found the Roman army lulled in indolence and security, and the Britons watching every favourable opportunity of attack. The *Ordovices* just before his arrival, had almost entirely cut to pieces a body of horse, that was quartered on the frontiers of their country, and owing to this successful action, a general spirit of insurrection seemed to manifest itself throughout the whole province. *Agricola*, though the summer was far advanced, his troops dispersed, and relying on a cessation from hostilities during the remainder of the year; though persuaded by many of his officers, that it would be more prudent to act on the defensive than the offensive, yet determined to face the enemy. Having drawn together the *vexilla legionum*, and a small body of auxiliaries, he put himself at their head, and marched against the enemy. The *Ordovices*, not daring to engage him in the plain, he pursued them to the hills, and defeated them with immense slaughter. Judging, like an able general, that his victory must be followed up, and that his future success would depend entirely on his present conduct,—"*non ignarus, instandum famæ, ac prout prima cessissent, fore universa,*" he formed a plan of reducing the island of Mona, which had been rescued from the hands of *Suetonius* by the insurrection of the Iceni before mentioned. Many difficulties occurred, but the genius and

resolution of the leader overcame them. He commanded his men to throw down their baggage ; and having selected a chosen body of auxiliaries, who were accustomed to swimming, and who knew the fords ;^y he ordered them to cross the river, which they effected in so rapid and unexpected a manner, that the Britons, struck with consternation at so unusual and daring a mode of attack, surrendered the island, and sued for peace.

^y Probably between Aber in Caernarvonshire, and Beaumaris in Anglesey, where a branch of the Watling-street crossed the Menai.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

LINE OF FORTIFICATIONS MADE BY OSTORIUS ON THE RIVERS NEN
AND AVON, TO SEPARATE THE TWO GREAT TRIBES OF THE ICENI,
A. D. 50.

THE *Iceni* (who under their two clans the *Iceni Magni* and the *Iceni Coritani*, possessed all the eastern part of England from the Stour in Essex to the Humber), alarmed at Vespasian's reducing the whole south-west of England, took advantage of the absence of the principal part of the Roman force, and invaded the territory of the *Trinobantes*, and those nations who had become the allies of the Romans. *Ostorius*, therefore, after repelling them, instantly formed the plan of breaking the power of this great people, by drawing a line of forts from the German Ocean to the Severn, which would effectually separate the one clan from the other; and while on the western side he began merely by planting stations along the banks of the Avon from Tewkesbury towards the centre of Warwickshire; on the eastern side, he covered the whole banks of the Nen not only with stations, but with such a number of fortified posts between them, as completely to break the force of this powerful people. At the first sight, we may see that not only the British great-ways were intercepted (such as the *Rykneild*, the *Watling*, and the *Ermin streets*), but also that all the communications between their several towns on each side of this line were cut off. However, before this great work could be completed, and while the Romans were still at work on their line, the *Iceni* assembled in their great camp at *Burrough hill* near Daventry, to attack that part of the fortification

which was still unfinished near the *Watling-street*. *Ostorius* instantly collects the confederate forces, and storming the enemy's trenches, gains a complete victory.

HAVING, as briefly as the importance of the subject would admit of, related the transactions of the Romans in Britain, from the period of the first invasion of our island by Julius Cæsar, 55 years before Christ, to the time of the total subjugation of Cambria; and having traced the several campaigns of *Ostorius*, *Suetonius*, *Frontinus*, and *Agricola* in that country; let us now consider by what means the conquest of Wales was accomplished by the Romans.

Julius Cæsar, when he made his first descent upon Britain, brought only two legions with him; the *seventh* and the *tenth*. In his second invasion, he brought five legions with him, and two thousand cavalry, who returned with him to Gaul the same year in which they come over into Britain.

I have before had occasion to mention, that during the successive reigns of the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, no attention was paid to the conquest of Britain.

The names of the second legion called *Augusta*; the ninth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth, called *Valens victrix*, may be collected from different passages of the historian Tacitus, as having been transported into Britain by the Emperor Claudius; and from the same author we know that all these legions remained there under the reign of Nero, when the celebrated battle took place between the Romans under *Suetonius*, and the Britons, headed by their

Queen Boadicea; for the ninth legion was surprised and destroyed by her; the fourteenth, and the *vexillarii* of the twentieth were engaged in the battle; and the second was absent only, owing to the negligence of its commander, *Pænius Posthumus*, who stabbed himself on hearing the success and honour which the other legions had acquired in this engagement.^c

But as only two of these legions seem to have any connexion with Cambria, I shall confine myself to them, and endeavour to trace their respective operations during the period of their residence in our island.

LEGIO SECUNDA AUGUSTA.

LEG. II. AVG.

THIS legion came into Britain during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, under the command of Vespasian,^b and continued in it as long as the Romans. History does not inform us, if it was employed by *Ostorius* in his memorable battle with *Caractacus*, or by *Suetonius* in his expedition against the island of *Mona*; but we know that it was ordered to attend on the expedition against the British Queen *Boadicea*, but owing to the misconduct of its commander *Pænius Posthumus*, did not join in the engagement that took place. As they had a station at *Caerleon* in Monmouthshire, and a camp at the *Gaer* near Brecknock, it is probable they

^a Et Pœnius Posthumus, præfectus castrorum secundæ legionis cognitis quarta-decimanorum vicesimanorumque prosperis rebus, quia pari gloriâ legionem suam fraudaverat, abnueratque, contrâ ritum militiæ, jussa ducis, se ipsum gladio transegit. Tacitus Annal. Lib. xiv. 38.

^b “ Et Britanniam inclytus ergâ Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundæ legioni à Claudio præpositus, et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adjunxit cæterarum.” Tacit. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. 44.

acted under *Julius Frontinus* in the reduction of the warlike nation of the *Silures*, in the year 76.

In the time of Hadrian, this legion was in Cumberland at Netherby and Beaucastle, and in the western side of Northumberland; and had probably their share in the work of *Hadrian's Vallum*; or when in the advanced stations of Netherby and Beaucastle, they might be posted there to protect those who were employed in that work.

In the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius, they appear to have been on the eastern part of the *Roman wall* in Northumberland. No. 1. From thence, in the same reign, they marched into Scotland, and were employed in building the *wall*, as appears from the express testimony of several inscriptions found there, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. In the time of Severus, it is very probable they were employed in the construction of the *wall* that goes by his name. From Northumberland or Cumberland, they passed perhaps through Westmoreland to Caerleon, and might leave on their march the inscription No. 34. Though this legion may have taken up its quarters at Caerleon before the reign of Severus, and the building of his *wall*; yet it might have marched from thence for this service, and returned again to its old quarters after the completion of it. The following inscription found at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, proves that it was there either in the lifetime of Severus, or in the joint reigns of him and Caracalla, in the year 210. “ *Pro salute Augustorum nostrorum Severi et Antonini et Getæ Cæsaris, Publius Sallienus Publii filius Mæcia [tribu] Thalamus Hadrianus præfectus legionis secundæ Augustæ Caio Vampeiano et Luciliano [consulibus].*”^c

^c Horsley, p. 321.

And here they seem to have continued till late in the empire. Antonine's Itinerary places them here, and various other inscriptions, No. 16, 18, prove that they remained for a long time stationed at Caerleon. Yet it is certain, that they were removed from thence before they finally quitted Britain, for the *Notitia Imperii* places them at *Rhutupæ*, or Richborough in Kent, from which port they probably set sail for Gaul and Italy, when they finally took leave of Britain.

LEGIO VICESIMA VALENS VICTRIX.

LEG. XX. V. V.

THIS legion, styled by some authors *Valeriana*, but most generally *Valens Victrix*, was one of the first sent over by Claudius into Britain. The *vexillarii* of this legion were engaged in the battle with Boadicea, A. D. 61. The command of it was, at a later period, conferred upon the celebrated Roman general, Agricola, who employed it first in subduing the *Ordovices* in Wales, and afterwards the *Caledonians* in Scotland. The stated quarters of this legion were at *Deva*, or Chester. It seems to have been employed in the same military works with the *Legio secunda Augusta*. From the inscriptions 22, 23, 24, 25, which were found on the Roman wall in Scotland, mentioning this legion, or their *vexillatio*, and the quantity of *wall* they built, it is clear that they had their share in the construction of that work under Antoninus Pius. If the altar found at Benwell fort in Northumberland (26) was erected by a centurion of this legion, at the same time that the other [1.] was by a centurion of the *Legio secunda Augusta*, this legion must have been

in those parts in the former part of Antoninus Pius's reign, either engaged on *Hadrian's Vallum*, or on their march against the Caledonians. I know not well what period to assign to the inscription at Lanchester (28), unless we suppose it to have been set up as they returned victorious from Scotland; and the symbols of victory standing on the globe seem to countenance such a conjecture. It is evident, however, that this legion was at Chester A. D. 154, in the reign of the same emperor; and it is natural to suppose, that it bore its part in building the *wall of Severus*; but amongst the many centurial inscriptions upon the face of this *wall*, there is not one to be found of this legion, or of any cohort belonging to it; and it is difficult to conjecture, how it came to be excused from that labour, since it is certain that it remained in Britain to a much later period. They continued at Chester under the reign of Dioclesian and Maximilian, as the altar (30) testifies. It appears by the inscription (27), that this legion was employed in some work at the station of Whitley castle, the ancient *Alone*, or *Alione*, in the south-west corner of Northumberland; and we find it afterwards in Westmoreland by the inscription, recording its name on the rock (34), and the name of one of its members in the sepulchral stone (29). The inscriptions preserved at Bath, 32, 33, seem to be the latest records of this legion in Britain, and were left there probably during its march from the north (at Chester), to some seaport in the south, previous to its quitting our island; and as it is not (like the *Legio secunda Augusta*) mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, it is not unlikely that it departed from Britain before that treatise was written.

EXPLANATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

PLATE I.

*No. 1. Jovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno et numinibus Augusti pro salute Imperatoris Cæsaris Titi Ælii Hadriani Antonini Augusti Pii patris patriæ et legionis secundæ Augustæ Marcus Liburnius Fronto centurio legionis ejusdem votum solvit lubens merito.

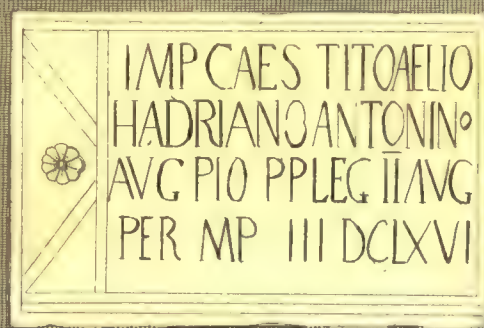
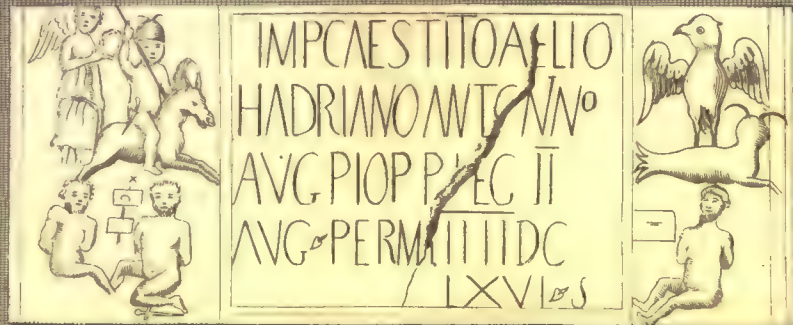
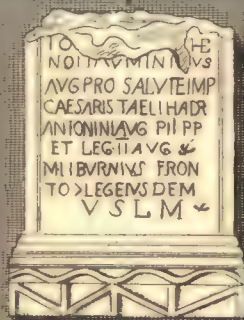
2. Imperatori Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ legio secunda Augusta fecit passus ter mille ducentos septuaginta unum.

3. Imperatori Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ legio secunda Augusta per mille passus quater sexcentos sexaginta sex solvit (*votum*).

4. Legio secunda Augusta fecit.

5. Imperatori Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ legio secunda Augusta per mille passus ter sexcentos sexaginta sex.

* The interpretation of these inscriptions has been copied from Horsley.



VI
 PP LEG-II-A
 QLOLLIOVR
 LEG AVGPRPR

VII
 VEX
 LEG II
 G

VIII

 LEG II NG
 COHX

IX
 LEG II AVG
 IV FECIT SA

X

 D M
 PLA LV CIA
 NVS MILES
 LEG-II-AVG

XI
 LIING
 CHO VIII
 FEC

XII
 LEG II AVG
 COH III F

XIII

 LEG
 II-AVG
 COH II

XIV

 LEG II AVG
 COH I

XV

 L II AVG
 VOL
 VSIA
 NA

LEGIO-II-AVGVSTA:

PLATE II.

No. 6. ^b*Imperatori Cæsari Tilo Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio*
patri patriæ legio secunda Augusta sub Quinto Lollio Urbico legato
Augusti proprætore fecit.

7. Vexillatio legionis secundæ Augustæ.

8. Legionis secundæ Augustæ cohors decima.

9. Legio secunda Augusta fecit jussa.

10. Dis Manibus Flavius Lucianus miles legionis secundæ Augustæ.

11. Legionis secundæ Augustæ cohors octava fecit.

12. Legionis secundæ Augustæ cohors quarta fecit.

13. Legionis secundæ Augustæ cohors secunda.

14. Legionis secundæ Augustæ cohors prima.

15. Legionis secundæ Augustæ Centuria Volusiana.

* The words printed in *italics* are inserted where the original inscription is defective.

PLATE III.

No. 16. Dis Manibus Julius Julianus miles legionis secundæ Augustæ stipendiorum octodecim annorum quadraginta hic situs est curâ agente amandâ conjuge.

17. Vivio Marciano militi legionis secundæ Augustæ Januaria Matrina conjunx pientissima posuit memoriam.

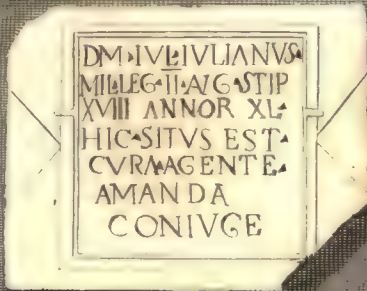
18. Dis Manibus Caius Valerius Caii filius Galeria Victor Lugduni signifer legionis secundæ Augustæ stipendiorum annorum quadraginta quinque curâ agente Amnio Perpetuo bene *merenti*.

19. Legio secunda Augusta fecit.

20. Legionis secundæ Augustæ Centuria Julii Tertulliani.

21. Vexillatio legionis secundæ Augustæ ob *virtutem* appellatæ sub Agricolâ optione. Apro et Maximo Consulibus, *ex officinâ* Mercati. Mercatius *filius* Fermii.

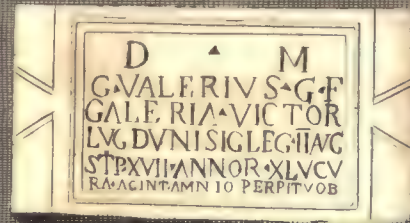
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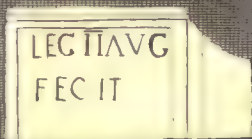
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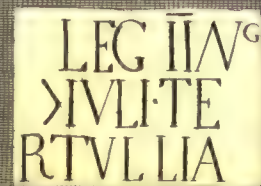
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XIX



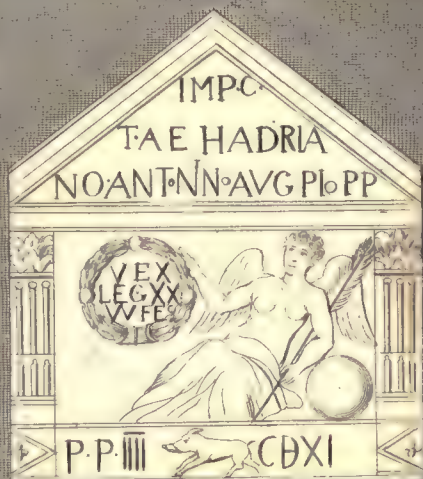
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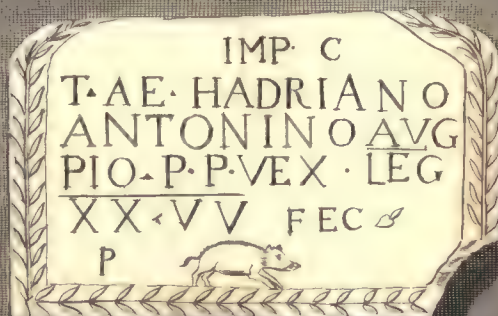
XXI



XXII



XXIII



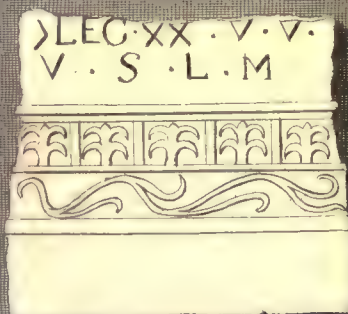
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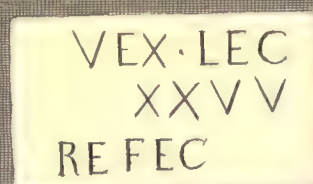
XXV



XXVI



XXVII



LEGIO VICESIMA V V

PLATE IV.

No. 22. Imperatori Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ vexillatio legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis fecit per passus quater mille quadringentos undecim.

23. Imperatori Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ vexillatio legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis fecit passus

24. Imperatori Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ *vexillatio* legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis *fecit per mille passus* quadringentos undecim.

25. Imperatori Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ vexillatio legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis fecit per mille passus tria.

26. Centurio legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis votum solvit lubens merito.

27. Vexillatio legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis refecit.

PLATE V.

No. 28. Legiovicesima valens victrix fecit.

29. Publius Ælius Publii filius Sergia Bassus Quæstor designatus legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis vixit annos et Publius Rivatus liberti et Hero miles legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis faciendum curarunt. Si quis in hoc sepulchrum alium mortuum intulerit inferet fisco dominorum nostrorum

30. Pro salute dominorum nostrorum invictissimorum Augustorum genio loci Flavius Longus tribunus militum legionis vicesimæ Longinus filius ejus domo Samosata votum solvit.

31. Jovi Optimo Maximo Tanaro Titus Elupius Galeria Præsens Guntia primipilus legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis Commodo et Laterano Consulibus votum solvit lubens merito.

32. Julius Vitalis Fabriciesis legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis stipendiorum novem annorum viginti novem natione Belga ex collegio fabricæ elatus hic situs est.

33. Dis Manibus Marcus Valerius Marci filius Latinus centurio eques miles legionis vicesimæ annorum triginta quinque stipendiorum hic situs est.

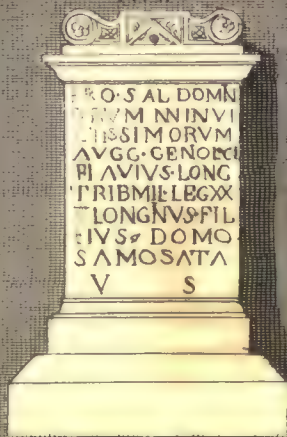
XXVIII



XXIX

PAELP·FS·E·RGBAS
OD·LEGXX·VVIX·AN
E·PRIATVSLIBET·HERO
M·LEG·VVIC·FCC·SIG
SEPVL·ALIVM·MORT
ERIT·IN·FER·F·DD·N·
INSATI·SVI·

XXX



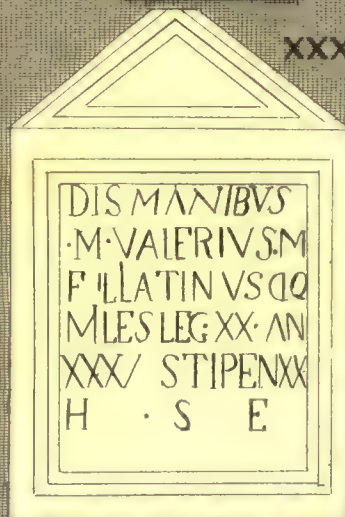
XXXI



XXXII



XXXIII



LEGIO·VICESIMA·V·V·

CVARROMIVS
ESSVS·LEGXXV.

ΛΕΛ·ΛΥC ΔΑΥS
R LEG II AVG C

XXXIV

>LEGIIAVG XXV

CO

XXXV

CAESRA
GIAVG ET XXV
IICNC IR
PR PR

XXXVI

LEGIONES·II·ET·XX:

PLATE VI.

No. 34. *Caius Varronius* *Centurio legionis vicesimæ valentis victricis* *Ælius Lucanus Tribunus legionis secundæ Augustæ* C

35. *Centurio legionis secundæ Augustæ et vicesimæ valentis victricis.*

36. *Cæsari Trajano* *Legiones secunda Augusta et vicesima valens victrix* *sub Licinio Prisco proprætore.*

REMARKS ON THE INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 1. This altar was found at Benwell in Northumberland, and (according to Horsley) is preserved in the court of Robert Shafto, Esq. It is inscribed to *Jupiter Dolichenus*, who had several altars dedicated to him both in Britain and other places: an inscription recorded by *Reinesius*: *Jovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno, ubi ferrum nascitur*, has caused a supposition that *Jupiter Dolichenus* had some concern in iron mines. On one side of this altar is the sacrificing knife and axe; and on the other, the *patera* and *præfericulum*.

No. 2. This inscription is said to have been found at the fort of Duntocher in Scotland, and is now^d above the gate of Cochnoch house, about half a mile from the fort. The purport of this inscription is, that the *Legio secunda Augusta* had built 3271 paces of the *wall*, and on that occasion erected this monument to the honour of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. At the bottom of the stone is a Pegasus; at the top, a sea-goat; and eagles heads on each side, with a rose at the corners, all in relievo, (and as Mr. Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale* says), executed with the best taste of any Roman stone in Scotland.

No. 3. This stone, deposited in the University of Glasgow, belongs to the fort at Castle hill in Scotland, which is not four miles from Old Kirkpatrick at the end of the *wall*. It is remarkable for

^d By the word *now*, I allude to the time in which Horsley published his *Britannia Romana*, A. D. 1732, and gave an account of all these inscriptions.

the variety of figures that are sculptured upon it. On one side of the stone is the figure of a horseman in *mezzo rilievo*, with a spear in his right, and a shield in his left hand. Behind him stands a Victory, with a crown in her hand; and underneath are two captives, with their hands tied behind their backs; at the foot of one them is a short sword, or dagger; and between them is a Roman standard, or *vexillum*. On the other side of this stone, is the figure of an eagle upon the back of a sea-goat; and under this, and near a *vexillum*, is another captive in a sitting posture, with his hands tied behind him, and a bonnet or turban round his head. These figures may very probably allude to the victory of the Romans over the Caledonians, and the sea-goat to the maritime parts of the country.

No. 4. This stone belongs to the fort at Bemulie in Scotland, where it was found; and is placed in the walls of Calder House. The inscription is surrounded by a crown of laurel, supported by two Victories, and has a double *cornucopia* at bottom.

No. 5. This stone was discovered on the same ground as the former; and was placed in a similar situation; but, Mr. Gordon says it was taken down, and removed within the house at Calder.

No. 6. This stone was found near the same fort of Bemulie, and is preserved in the University of Glasgow. The inscription, which has generally been read, "*Posuit legio secunda Augusta Quinto Lollio Urbico legato Augusti proprætori*," confirms the passage in *Capitolinus*, where speaking of *Antoninus Pius*, he says, "*Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit alio muro cespililio ducto*," &c.

No 7. Horsley saw this mutilated inscription, which is curiously ornamented, at Skirvay, about a mile and a half west from Kilsyth.

No. 8. This stone, decorated with the figures of the sea-goat and Pegasus, is built up in the walls of a house at Benwell, Northumberland; and it confirms our conjectures, that a part of this legion was employed on the east end of the *wall*.

No. 9. This stone belonged to the fort at Cramond in Scotland, and was deposited in Baron Clerk's collection. Mr. Gordon makes it *votive*, and reads it *Jovi votivo sacrum legio secunda fecit*; but I must prefer the reading by Horsley of *jussa fecit*, which is the same as *ex jussu*.

No. 10. This stone is evidently sepulchral.

No. 11. This inscription was in the side wall of a house at East Denton in Northumberland, a village on the *wall*, about a quarter of a mile west of Benwell fort; but on the destruction of the house, it came into the possession of Horsley. It refers probably, by the word *fecit*, to the construction of some part of the *wall*.

No. 12. This inscription was in the church wall at Corbridge, Northumberland; it is of the same sort as those usually erected by the legions and legionary cohorts, when they were employed in building any work, and I believe usually set in the face of it.

No. 13. This stone was discovered at Benwell in Northumberland, and was built up in the *wall* near the cellar door of Mr. William Pattison's house. It resembles No. 8, as to its decorations of the Pegasus and sea-goat, but with this difference, that each of these animals have a *vexillum* before them.

No. 14. This inscription is in the garden at Naworth, Cumberland, and was probably brought from that part of the *wall* near Burdoswald, or between that and Cambeck.

No. 15. This stone is in the same place as the former, and over

the back door in the garden, and was brought probably from the same ground; it was erected by the *Centuria Volusiana* of the *second legion*.

No. 16. This inscribed stone is still preserved within the parish church of Tredonoc, Monmouthshire, a village on the road between Usk (*Burrium*) and Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*).

No. 17. This interesting stone, which represents a Roman soldier in his military dress, was found at Ludgate in London, A. D. 1669, and is preserved at Oxford amongst the Arundelian marbles. This engraving has been made from an *original* drawing by Mr. Carter, as the one by Horsley has tended to mislead antiquarians, and make them suppose that the *pointed arch* was in use amongst the Romans.

No. 18. This stone, which, in the time of Horsley, was in the possession of Mr. George of Caerleon, who purchased it, and sent it to London, was discovered upon the banks of the river Usk, about a quarter of a mile from Caerleon.

No. 19. This stone belonged to Beaucastle, in Cumberland, where there was a large Roman station.

No. 20. This inscription is built up in the end of a house at *Old Wall*, which is about two miles west from Cambeck fort.

No. 21. This inscription is cut upon the face of a rock, about half way up a steep hill that hangs over the river Gelt. The rock is on the side of the river next to Brampton, (in Cumberland,) and about half a mile above the Gelt bridge. Horsley supposes that *Agricola* was the name of the *Optio*,^c who had the command of the

^c An *Optio* was a sort of deputy to a centurion, or other officer, who acted for him in his absence.

soldiers, who were ordered to work the stones at this quarry; and he remarked a great resemblance between the stone of this quarry, both as to nature and colour, and that with which the *Roman wall* in a great part of Cumberland appears to have been built.^f

No. 22. This stone belongs to the first fort on the west end of the *Wall* near Old Kirkpatrick, and is now preserved in the University of Glasgow. The sculpture on it is very curious. It has a pediment supported by two fluted Cornithian pillars. On the face of the stone is a Victory leaning her left arm upon a globe, and holding under the same arm a palm branch. The right hand rests upon a laurel wreath or crown, inclosing an inscription commemorating the work of the *twentieth legion*. Underneath the Victory on the base of the stone, is a boar in the act of running, which was probably an emblem of the northern districts of Caledonia, and to which Martial may have alluded in the following line:

“Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso.”

So that this inscription, with its emblems, may denote the victory of the Romans over the Caledonians.

No. 23. This stone, which has also the emblem of the boar in *relievo*, was found in the ground of Mr. Hamilton, of Barns, in Scotland, and presented by him to the University of Glasgow in the year 1695.

No. 24. This stone is preserved in the same University. On the

^f In the first volume of the *Archæologia* is an engraving of another inscription belonging to the *second legion*, which is cut upon a rock at Shawk quarries in Great Dalston, Cumberland, near Rose Castle. *Legionis secundæ Augustæ milites posuerant. Cohors tertia—Cohors quarta.*

border is a curious winged figure, apparently a genius, with a garland on his head, and a bunch of grapes in his left hand.

No. 25. This inscribed stone is preserved in Mareschal college at Aberdeen, in Scotland. Camden supposes that it formerly belonged to the castle of Dunnotyre; and Horsley imagines that the effaced N. after the word *vexillatio* was a mistake of the stone-cutter, and struck out again by him.

No. 26. This imperfect inscription upon the lower part of a broken altar was found near Benwell, in Northumberland.

No. 27. This belongs to a Roman station, which has been at Whitley castle, near Kirk-haugh, in the south-west corner of the county of Northumberland, and which stood on the military road called the *Maiden-way*, and was in the possession of Mr. Henry Wallace, of Whitley. The inscription infers that a *vexillation* of the *twentieth legion* rebuilt this station, or some parts connected with it.

No. 28. This inscription is placed by Horsley amongst those of the county of Durham; it is inclosed within a verdant wreath, and supported by two winged Victories, standing upon globes, and bearing palm branches in their hands. Within the wreath, is the usual symbol of the boar.

No. 29. This stone refers probably to the station of Water Crook, near Kendal, in Westmoreland. It is sepulchral, and appears to contain a penalty against any one, who should presume to deposit another dead person in this sepulchre, obliging them to pay a fine into the emperor's exchequer: "*inferat arario pontificum Romanorum,*" &c.

No. 30. This curious altar was discovered in Forest-street, Chester,

in the year 1653, and in Horsley's time was in the possession of Mr. Prescott. The emperors, on whose account it was erected, were probably Dioclesian and Maximian, by the titles of *domini nostri* joined to *invictissimi*. The two persons named *Longus* or *Longinus* were of *Samosata*, a city in *Syria*, where *Lucian* was born. The sides and back of this altar are ornamented with figures and other devices, engravings of which may be found in Horsley.

No. 31. This altar was also found at Chester, and is now in the Arundelian collection at Oxford. It is dedicated to *Jupiter Tanarus*, which is supposed to be the British name of this deity, the same as *Βρονταῖος* amongst the Greeks, and *Tonans* among the Latins, for *tanar* in the old British language signifies *thunder*.^s

No. 32. This stone, which is preserved at Bath, was discovered in October, 1708, at the village of Walcot on the fosse road, about a mile north-east from Bath. Many of the learned antiquarians have written notes and comments on this inscription, which is highly interesting, as it states the trade of the person to whose memory it was erected, the legion in which he served, and the country to which he belonged. He is styled *Fabriciesis* instead of *Fabricensis*; for the better understanding of which term, some little explanation will be necessary. It must be observed that the legions had their particular *fabri*, who were employed in preparing arms and military instruments for the soldiers; and besides these, there were others in their towns. These *fabri* were, in latter times, called *fabricenses*, and their workhouse was called *officina* or *fabbrica*, and the *collegium fabricæ*, or *fabricensium*, was the company

^s Taran, *thunder*. Hence Jupiter was called *Taranis* by the Gauls, à *Taran*, quod Wallis Britannis tonitru sonat. *Richard's Welsh Grammar*.

or body of these artificers. Horsley reads the words EX COLLEGIO FABRICÆ, *ex collecto fabricæ elatus*, as if Julius Vitalis, the Belgian, had been buried at the expense of the whole college of *fabri*, or smiths.

No. 33. This sepulchral stone is also preserved at Bath, in Somersetshire.

Nos. 34, 35. These inscriptions recording the names of the *second* and the *twentieth* legions are cut upon a rock at Crawdendale-waith, in Westmoreland, in a very rude manner, at a time, perhaps, when the Romans were getting stones for the fort at Kirby Thure.

No. 36. This inscription remains at Beaucastle, in Cumberland, and appears to have been an honorary monument erected to the Emperor Hadrian by the *Legio secunda Augusta*, and the *Legio vicesima*.

Since the publication of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, A. D. 1732, four Roman altars, connected with the *Legio secunda Augusta*, have been discovered on the *wall* of Antoninus Pius in Scotland, and deposited in the University of Glasgow. They are engraved and described in the third volume of the *British Archaeologia*, page 119.

1.

I. O. M.
VICTORIÆ
VICTRICI PRO SALUT
TE IMPN̄ ET. SVA
SVORUM
M. COCCEI
FIRMVS
D LEG II AVG.

2.

MARTI
MINERVAE
CAMPEST
BVSHERO
EPONAE
VICTORIAE
M. COCCEI
FIRMVS
D LEG II AVG.

3.

GENIO
TERRAE
BRITA
NNICAE
M. COCCEI
FIRMVS
D LEG II AVG

4.

DIANAE
APOLLINI
M. COCCEI
FIRMVS
D LEG II AVG.

The *first* altar was dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Victoria Victrix*, by Cocceius Firmus, centurion of the *second legion*, for the welfare of the Emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The word *et* between *sua* and *suorum* may have probably been omitted.

The *second* altar is dedicated by the same person to *Mars* and *Minerva* (who are styled *Campestres*), to *Epona* and to *Victory*, by the same person. I think the word in the fourth line should be read *Heroi*, and applied to *Epona* as an *heroine*. This *Epona* was the goddess of horses.

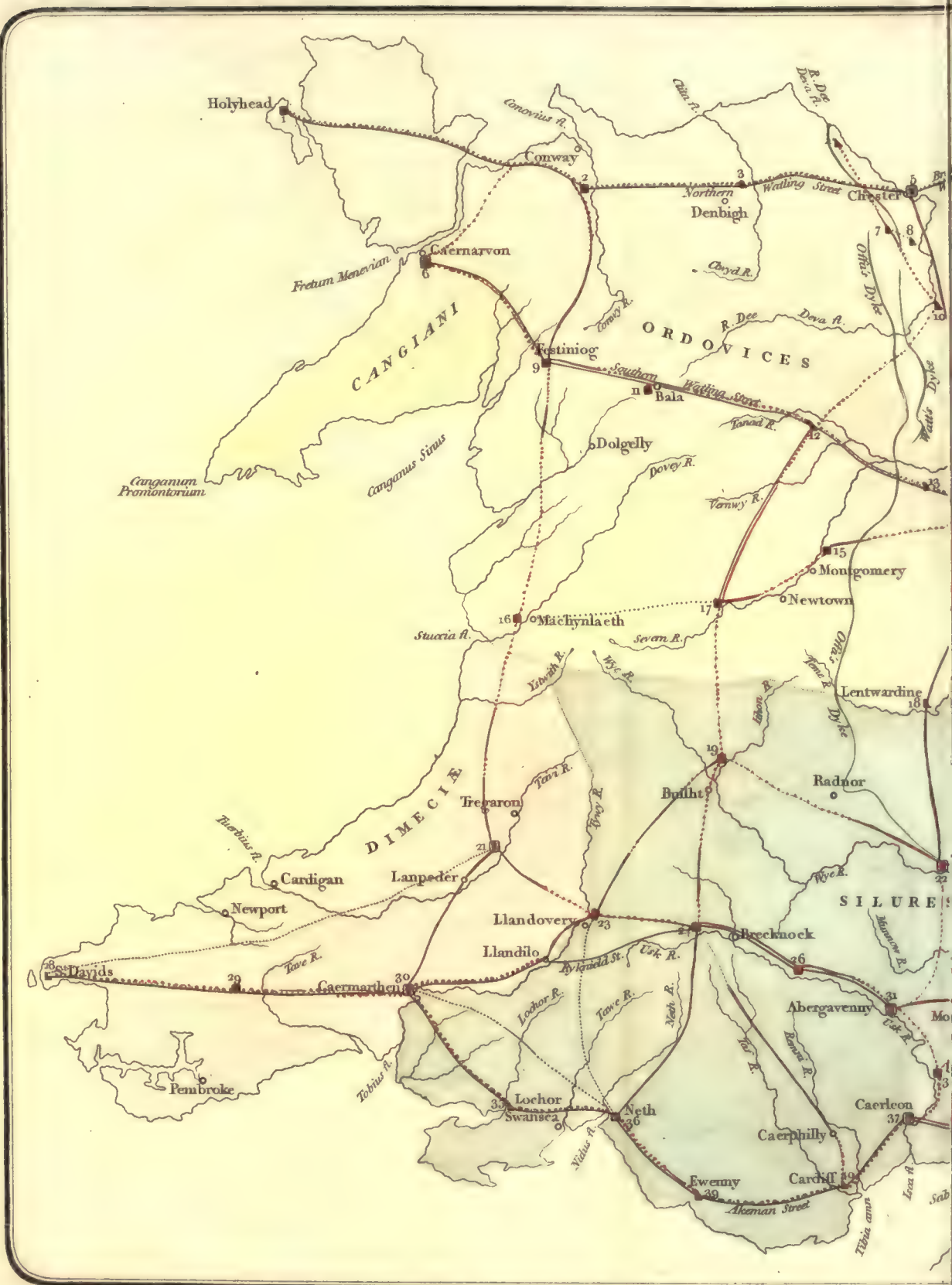
The *third* altar is to us the most interesting, being dedicated by the same person to the *Genius of Britain*.

The *fourth* altar is dedicated by the same person to *Apollo* and *Diana*.

HAVING traced the progress of the Romans in Britain, from the time of their first landing (fifty-five years before Christ) to the period when that part of it, distinguished by the name of Cambria, was, after an obstinate and continued struggle, finally subdued A. D. 78, by Julius Agricola; and having also pointed out the means by which this conquest was accomplished, with the forces and leaders employed in its reduction: let us now take a view of the public works of that nation, and endeavour to collect under a systematic arrangement, all the information which we are able to gain either from printed books, or ocular examination of the country. The Roman works may be principally confined to stations, camps, and military roads; many of which are still visible; but it is much to be regretted, that here (as well as in England) this interesting subject of inquiry had not claimed the attention of some learned antiquarian at a more remote period; before the plough, in the service of agriculture, had obliterated so many of our ancient cities and stations, both British and Roman.

Yet much positive information may still be gained, if inquiries are prosecuted with judgment; and researches backed by activity. The *mens sana in corpore sano*, united to a perfect knowledge of the Welsh language, will be wanted; for the most mountainous and impassable districts must be examined and explored; for there the antiquarian will acquire the richest store of knowledge; there he will find the *Maen hirion*, the *Cromlech*, the *Druidical circle*, the rude fortress; in short, there he will trace the

early history of his brave ancestors the Britons; he will compare the irregular British ridgeway with the more perfect line of the Roman causeway, and remark with what wonderful skill and knowledge of the country, the Roman engineer conducted his roads over the most arduous districts. But in these his antiquarian pursuits, let him cautiously avoid the error into which the generality of writers have fallen, by confounding the *Roman* with the *British* fortress. Their respective situations are so totally different, that they *ought* never to be mistaken. The hills and mountains throughout North and South Wales abound in *British* fortresses, which are almost always placed on lofty eminences; whilst the Romans as universally selected a *gently elevated* situation near some river, and sufficiently open on all sides to prevent any sudden surprise by the enemy. On tracing (as I have done) the numerous Roman stations in Wales, the antiquarian will find these the distinguishing and invariable marks of the *British* and *Roman* fortress; and in many places he will have an opportunity of comparing them together; as at Kenchester (*Roman*), and Credon hill (*British*), at Cwm Dû in Brecknockshire (*Roman*), and the camps on the Bwlch hill, &c. (*British*). Another certain mark of the Roman camp is its form, which is almost invariably either *square* or *oblong*, with the angles *rounded*, whereas the stronghold of the Britons was very irregular, and adapted to the shape of the hill on which it was formed; these had many and deep ditches to defend it, whilst the Romans, depending more on the strength of their legions, than of their fortifications, made only a slight rampart to their camps. Another constant attendant on the Roman works is *brick*, superior both in colour and texture to that of our own country; with which a



A MAP OF WALES BEFORE AND AFTER THE INVASION OF THE RO



A TABLE OF REFERENCE

1	<i>Caer Gybi</i>	<i>Holyhead.</i>
2	<i>Conovium</i>	<i>Caer Hen on the Conwy.</i>
3	<i>Varis</i>	<i>near Bodfari not far from Denbigh.</i>
4		<i>Flint.</i>
5	<i>Deva</i>	<i>Chester.</i>
6	<i>Segontium</i>	<i>Caer Seiont near Caernarvon.</i>
7		<i>Caergrwfe.</i>
8		<i>Holt.</i>
9	<i>Herin Mons</i>	<i>Tonnantymur near Festiniog.</i>
10	<i>Banchorium</i>	<i>Banchor on the Dee.</i>
11		<i>Caer Gai near Bala.</i>
12	<i>Mediolanum</i>	<i>on the Tynad.</i>
13	<i>Rutunium</i>	<i>Rowton.</i>
14	<i>Unconium</i>	<i>Wroxeter.</i>
15		<i>Gaer near Montgomery.</i>
16		<i>Penalt near Machynlaeth.</i>
17		<i>Caersws near Newtown.</i>
18	<i>Bravinium</i>	<i>near Lentwardine.</i>
19		<i>on the Yihon.</i>
20	<i>Brannogena</i>	<i>near Worcester.</i>
21	<i>Luentium</i>	<i>Llanio isau.</i>
22	<i>Magna</i>	<i>Kenchester near Hereford.</i>
23		<i>Llanvair ar y brin near Llandover.</i>
24		<i>Gaer near Brecknock.</i>
25	<i>Aniconium</i>	<i>at Bolitree near Ross.</i>
26		<i>Gaer at Cwm Du.</i>
27	<i>Glorum</i>	<i>Gloucester.</i>
28	<i>Menapia</i>	<i>Saint Davids.</i>
29	<i>Advicesimum</i>	<i>Castel Fleming.</i>
30	<i>Marichium</i>	<i>Caermarthen.</i>
31	<i>Gobannium</i>	<i>Abergavenny.</i>
32	<i>Blestium</i>	<i>Monmouth.</i>
33	<i>Burrium</i>	<i>Usk.</i>
34		<i>Lydney.</i>
35	<i>Leucanum</i>	<i>Lochor.</i>
36	<i>Nidum</i>	<i>Neath.</i>
37	<i>Isc. Silurum</i>	<i>Caerleon.</i>
38	<i>Venta Silurum</i>	<i>Caerwent.</i>
39	<i>Bovium</i>	<i>near Ewenny.</i>
40	<i>Fibia Amnis</i>	<i>near Cardiff.</i>
41	<i>Ad Sabrinam</i>	<i>on the Borders of the Severn.</i>
42	<i>Abone</i>	<i>Sca Mills near Bristol.</i>

EXPLANATION.

1	British Towns	
2	D° Track Ways	Black Line
3	Roman Stations certain	
4	D° D° uncertain	
5	Roman Roads still existing	
6	D° D° but their Track not absolutely known	
7	D° D° uncertain but probable	
8	Watts & Offas Dikes	Green Line

great variety of pottery, as well as coins, will frequently be found.

Before the invasion of Britain by the Romans, all that portion of it, which we now distinguish by the name of the Principality of North and South Wales, was bounded by the Irish Sea, the Bristol Channel, and the rivers Severn and Dee.

It was inhabited by the *Silures*, and their dependants, the *Dimeciæ*, or *Demetæ*, and the *Ordovices*,^s to the latter of which the small tribe of the *Cangiani* was subject. The *Silures* are supposed to have occupied a part of Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Glamor-

^s *Orduices*, penes quos urbes *Mediolanum*, *Brannogenium*.

Maximè occidentales sunt *Demetæ*, in quibus urbes, *Loventinum*, *Maridunum*.

His magis orientales *Silyres* sunt, in quibus urbs *Bullaum*. Ptolemy, lib. ii. p. 37.

Richard of Cirencester is more particular in describing the different people who inhabited the province of *Britannia Secunda*, now known by the name of Wales. “Hæc erat celebrata illa regio *Silurum*, tribus validissimis habitata populis, quos inter præ reliquis celebres *Silures* propriè sic dicti, quam ab orâ relictâ turbidum *Sabrinæ* fretum distinguit. Civitates *Silurum*, *Ariconium*, *Magna*, *Gobannium*, et *Venta*, eorum caput fuerunt. Olim ac diù potens erat hæc *Silurum* regio, sed cum eam regno *Charaticus* tenuit, longè potentissima. Hic continuis novem annis, omnia Romanorum arma pro ludibrio habita, sæpe evertit, donec de illo, conjunctis viribus Romanos aggressuro, triumphavit Legatus *Ostorius*.

Duæ aliæ sub *Siluribus* gentes fuere; primùm *Ordovices*, qui in septentrionali versùs insulam *Monam*; et deinde *Dimeciæ*, qui in extremâ versùs occidentem parte degebant, ubi promontorium quod *Octorupium* nuncupatur, unde in *Hyberniam* transitus xxx miliarium. *Dimeciarum* urbes, *Menapia*, et primaria *Muridunum*. *Lovantium* verò sibi habitandum vindicaverant Romani.

Ultrà hos et *Silurum* terminos siti *Ordovices*, quorum urbes *Mediolanum* et *Brannogenium*. Huc quoque referendum illud, quod à septentrione *Ordovicum* situm, ab oceano alluitur territorium, cum illorum regimini aliquandiù fuerit subjectum, hoc certo constat, quod illum *Cangiani* quondam inhabitaverunt tractum, quorum unica urbs *Segontium*, promontorio *Cangano* vicina. Inclyta hæc erat civitas, freto *Meneviaco* (*Menai*), contrà *Monam*, religiosissimam insulam, ubi olim *Druides* habitâre, adjacet. Cap. vi. p. 23.

ganshire, Brecknockshire, and Radnorshire, in which they had towns at *Ariconium* (Bolitree), *Magna* (Kenchester), *Gobannium* (Abergavenny), *Isca* (Caerleon) and *Venta Silurum*, their capital (Caerwent).

The *Demetæ*, or *Dimeciæ*, held Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire, in which were the ancient towns of *Maridunum* (Caermarthen), *Menapia* (Saint David's), and *Lovantium* (Llanioisau).

The territory of the *Ordovices* was confined to North Wales, and was bounded by the river Dee; in it were the towns of *Brannogena* and *Mediolanum*. Their dependant clan, the *Cangiani*, who inhabited the neck of land extending from Caernarvon to Bardsey Island, had their capital at *Segontium*, or *Caer Seient*, near the present town of Caernarvon.

We cannot positively ascertain if *all* the Roman towns occupied the same site as the British; *some* certainly do; and the others were probably removed only to a short distance, if at all.

The line of sea-coast described by Ptolemy is as follows: *Tisobis fluvius*, the Conwy river; *Ganganorum promontorium*, the neck of land between the Irish Sea and Cardigan bay, in the district of Llyn; *Stuccia fluvius*, the river Dovey; *Tuerobis fluvius*, the river Tivy; *Octapitarum promontorium*,^h Saint David's head; *Tobius fluvius*, the river Towy; *Ratostathybius fluvius*, the river Taf; and *Sabrina æstuarium*, the Severn sea, or Bristol Channel.

Of the ancient British roads that traversed Wales, we can speak only of *two* with any degree of certainty; viz. the *northern and the southern Watling-streets*, though it is very probable that the *Ryk-*

^h The eight rocks, from which the ancient name is derived, are now vulgarly called the Bishop and his Clerks.

nield and *Akeman* streets were continued through the southern parts of Wales, to some port on the Irish Channel. The name of *Watling* is supposed to have been derived from the name of the nation (*Gwathelingæ*), who inhabited the coast of Ireland opposite Wales, to which this great road led from the coast of Kent at Richborough, to the port of *Segontium* near Caernarvon.ⁱ This southern branch entered North Wales near *Ureconium* (Wroxeter), and passing by *Rutunium* (Rowton), continued its course near Bala and Festiniog to *Caer Seient*, or *Segontium*.

The upper branch, coming from the northern parts of Scotland, entered Wales near Chester (*Deva*), and proceeded by *Caer Hên* on the Conwy (*Conovium*), to Aber, where it crossed the Menai, to *Caer Gybi*, or Holyhead.

The *Ryknield* street, deriving its name most probably from the nation of the *Iceni*, whose territory it traversed; came from South Shields, in the N. E. parts of England, and passing through a part of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire, proceeded to *Glevum*, or Gloucester; from whence it pursued its course by Monmouth, Abergavenny, Brecknock, Tre-castle, Llandilo, and Caermarthen, to St. David's.

The *Akeman* street, which I imagine is also derived from the *Iceni*, (for during its track it is called *Aknield*, *Hiknield*, &c. &c. and we know for a certainty that it came from their country) having passed through Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire, crossed over into Wales at the Aust passage, and

ⁱ Ab eâdem civitate Rhutupis, (Richborough in Kent) ducta est via *Guethelingæ* dicta, usque in *Segontium*. The modern Welsh name for an Irishman is *Gwyddelig*, the double *dd*, pronounced as *th*, retains a likeness to the ancient word *Gwathelingæ*.

proceeded along the southern coast of Wales by Caerwent, Caerleon, Cardiff, Ewenny, Neath, Loghor, and Caermarthen to Saint David's.

For the better distinction of the several Roman roads that traversed Wales in different directions, and as a guide for future antiquarians who may be tempted to prosecute these researches, I shall distinguish them by the following titles.

1. VIA JULIA MARITIMA, or *inferior*.
2. VIA JULIA MONTANA, or *superior*.
3. VIA OCCIDENTALIS.
4. VIA DEVANA, or *media*.
5. VIA ORIENTALIS.
6. NORTHERN WATLING-STREET.
7. SOUTHERN WATLING-STREET.

1. *Via Julia Maritima*—Of this road, (which probably assumed the name of *Julia* from *Julius Frontinus*, the conqueror of the *Silures*,) Richard of Cirencester has left the following very particular and interesting account. ITER XI. *Ab Aquis per Viam Juliam Menapiam usque, sic: ad Abonam m. p. vi.; ad Sabrinam vi. unde trajectu intras in Britanniam Secundam et stationem Trajectum, m. p. iii.; Venta Silurum, viii.; Isca Colonia, viiii. (unde fuit Aaron Martyr); Tibia amne, m. p. viii.; Bovio, xx.; Nido, xv.; Leucaro, xv.; ad Vigesium, xx.; ad Menapiam, xviii; ab hac urbe per xxx m. p. navigas in Hyberniam.*

Commencing from *Aquæ Solis*, or Bath, it directed its course to North Stoke and Bitton, where, near the confluence of the river Boyd with the Avon, was the *Trajectus* of Antonine, and the *ad Abonam* of Richard. From Bitton it continued its course

over Durdham down (near Clifton, where it is very visible), to the great station of *Sea Mills*, or *Abona*; from whence it descended to the shores of the Severn, and crossing into Wales, proceeded to *Venta Silurum*, or *Caerwent*. As this part of the *Iter* does not fall under my proposed plan of describing the Roman stations in Wales only; I must refer my reader to Mr. Coxe's Historical Tour through Monmouthshire; where, in the Introduction, p. 13, he will find the whole course of the *Via Julia*, from Bath to the passage over the Severn, very accurately and minutely detailed.

We will therefore commence *our* iter from *Venta Silurum*, or *Caerwent*, the ancient capital of the brave and warlike *Silures*. Here we may trace the entire circuit of the Roman walls; but the fine tessellated pavements, which, but a few years ago, attracted the attention of every traveller, have now, alas! perished through inattention.

From *Caerwent* the *Via Julia* proceeded to *Caerleon*, which was distinguished by the names of *Isca Silurum*, from its situation on the banks of the river *Usk*, and *Isca Legionum*, from being the head quarters of the *Legio secunda Augusta*.^k The inclosure of the ancient walls may still be traced with satisfaction; but as it would be tedious to enter into a detail of this Roman city, I must once more refer my reader to Mr. Coxe, who has given plans and de-

^k *Iscae* verò, flumini imminentem urbem cognominem, tenebat Romanorum colonia, ibique per annos plures *secunda legio*, quæ *Augusta* aliàs vocabatur, stationem habebat, donec *Valentiam* et *Rhutupin* transferebatur. By the words *Valentia* and *Rhutupis* Richard alludes to the removal of this legion, first into the northern district so called, where it was employed in the construction of the Roman wall; and secondly to Richborough on the coast of Kent, previous to its final departure from our island.

scriptions both of Caerleon and Caerwent. The precise situations of the two next stations, *Tibia amnis* and *Bovium*, have not been ascertained; but we may place the first on the river *Taf* near Cardiff, and the second somewhere near *Ewenny*. The modern name of *Neth* bespeaks the situation of the Roman *Nidus*, altered from the British word *Nedd*, or *Nydd*: but although very extensive and perfect remains of the causeway leading over the mountains to the station of *Gaer*, near Brecknock, still exist in the neighbourhood of Neth, I cannot learn that the *exact site* of *Nidus* has been as yet proved. From the affinity of the word *Loghor* to *Leucarum*, and knowing that, both in Wales, as well as in England, the Roman towns frequently derived their names from rivers, we may reasonably suppose that the next station was on the banks of the *Loghor*; its real site remains yet to be discovered.

The next station mentioned by Richard is *Ad Vigesium* m. p. xx. and the following *Ad Menapiam*, or St. David's, m. p. xviii. making the whole intervening distance *thirty-nine miles*. The shortness of this space seems to prove that the station of *Muridunum* at Caermarthen has been omitted in this *Iter*, and I am led to think so by the discovery, which a friend of mine and fellow antiquarian Mr. Fenton, has lately made of a square camp between Caermarthen and Saint David's, corresponding both in distance and situation with the *Iter* of Richard. I shall not therefore hesitate to fix the station *Ad Vigesium* at a place called by the natives *Castell Flemish*, situated about two or three miles E N E of Ambleston in Pembrokeshire.

The exact site of the station *Ad Menapiam* is not known, though it was probably in the neighbourhood of Saint David's, but perhaps

nearer to the sea than the present episcopal town. On a review of this long *Iler*, we find that the positions of two only of the stations upon it are known for a certainty; these are *Isca* (Caerleon) and *Venta* (Caerwent); but I have no doubt but that—by proper enquiry, and personal investigation, the site of all the rest might be satisfactorily ascertained.¹

¹ A few rules may be useful in directing the young antiquarian towards the discovery of these unknown stations. In the first place, he must be well acquainted with the *line* of these roads, as described by Antonine and Richard: but must not pay *implicit* credit to the *distances* therein affixed to the respective stations; for these authors differ in their numbers, and we know how easily figures written in capitals, may have been disguised by time, or mistaken by the copyers of manuscripts. Let him above all things avoid the *common* error of our old antiquarians in looking for *Roman* stations on *high mountains*, for there he may look and look in vain; on the contrary, let him examine those gentle eminences, which are often found in plains, having an open circuit of country around them. This latter quality seems particularly to have been considered by the Romans, and for this reason: the Britons (as we may collect from the Roman historians, and afterwards from Giraldus in his Description of Wales) seldom ventured to engage the enemy openly in the plain, but depended more on surprizing them unawares; on which account, the Romans very prudently fixed upon those situations for their camps, where they were not liable to these sudden sallies of the enemy, and where they could perceive at a distance the Britons descending from their strongholds on the mountains. The Romans also in establishing their stations, usually endeavoured to place them near a river or brook, and inclining towards the south.

The next thing to be considered is the *form* of the camp, which, when *made* by the Romans, was always rectangular, sometimes square, sometimes oblong, with the corners generally *rounded*; a peculiarity of construction which that people adopted in their *stone* walls, as well as in the *earthen* inclosures; of which we see an example at the station of *Gaer* near Brecknock. He must then search diligently for bricks and fragments of pottery, which he will easily distinguish from the modern by their superior texture and colour; and having found these evidences united to the rectangular form, he may safely proclaim himself the discoverer of a Roman station. As he will seldom have the satisfaction to find the Roman causeway entire, except on some of the mountainous parts of the country between Neth and Brecknock, or on the

ITER XII. of Antonine, which bears for its title A CALLEVA MVRIDVNVM, VIROCONIVM, during the *latter* part of it, follows the same track as that of Richard; but the *former* part most evidently relates to a distinct *Iter* through the west of England, commencing from *Calleva*, or Silchester, in Hampshire, and proceeding by *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester), *Sorbiodunum* (Old Sarum), *Durno-varia* (Dorchester), to *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Exeter), so called from its situation on the river *Exe*, which in Latin bears the same name as the *Usk*. Here *this Iter* should end; but we see it suddenly transported from the last place (Exeter) across the Bristol channel to *Leucarum* (the supposed Loghor in Caermarthenshire), and continued from thence, in a contrary direction with that of Richard, to *Nidum*, *Bomium*, and *Isca Leg. II. Augusta* (Caerleon), from whence it takes a more northerly course, and proceeds by *Usk*, *Abergavenny*, *Kenchester*, and *Lentwardine*, to *Wroxeter*.

It is very singular that Horsley should not have discovered the mistake in this *Iter* of Antonine; but, I fear, like another more modern author, he calculated the distances in his study, and

Monmouthshire hills near Bedwelty, &c.; he must depend in a great measure on the *straight* line, which, though robbed of its ridge, and even of the materials that formed it, is often distinguishable. In summer also its line may be very correctly traced by the colour of the grass and corn appearing less vivid and flourishing on the hard basis of the road; and in arable lands the ploughman is often arrested in his progress by stones of the *Sarn Helen*. The British *ridgeway*, which is still visible on some of the Welsh mountains, may perhaps mislead him by its pavement, &c. but he will not find that regularity of design, and that direct line *tiré au cordon*, in the works of our ancient islanders, which was the *invariable* system of the Roman engineer, excepting only where nature threw a mountain in his way, and obliged him to deviate from his course in order to ascend it, which when accomplished, he always reassumed his straight direction.

consulted the etymology and sound of words too much, in according the Latin with the English names of towns and stations. It is evidently the case in this instance, for he has found English names and situations for stations which we know to have existed in Wales. This *Iter* therefore should be divided into two; the *first* would lead from Silchester to Exeter; the *second* from Loghor in Caermarthenshire, to Wroxeter in Shropshire.

2. *Via Julia Montana*, or *superior*. I think it probable that this road was formed by the Romans on the track of the British Ryk-nield street, as the *Via Julia Maritima* was formed on that of the British *Akeman* street. From Gloucester (*Glevum*) it passed by *Ariconium* (Bolitree), *Blestium* (Monmouth), *Gobannium* (Abergavenny), Brecknock, Trecastle, Llandovery, Llandilo, *Muridunum* (Caermarthen), where it joined the *Via Julia Maritima*, and continued along with it to *Menapia*, or Saint David's.^m At Monmouth and Abergavenny we have no positive Roman remains. Both the Roman and modern names of Abergavenny are derived from the river *Gevenni*, which has its confluence with the Usk near the town. Between this place and Brecknock there is a decided Roman station in the parish of Cwm Dû, to the right of the turnpike road; and another at the *Gaer*, beyond Brecknock, on the banks of the little river *Ysgyr*, where Roman bricks inscribed with *Leg. II. Aug.* testify the residence of the *second* legion on this spot.ⁿ This road

^m This tract of road is neither mentioned by Antonine nor Richard.

ⁿ Two of these inscribed bricks are preserved in a farm-house on the West side of the little river. A part of the Roman causeway leading from Brecknock to the *Gaer*, is still in a very perfect state; and upon it has been placed an antique stone, on which are sculptured a male and female figure; but the inscription is so much defaced that the names of the persons to whom this sepulchral monument was erected cannot be ascertained.

continued along the valley by *Rhyd y briew* bridge, towards Tre-castle, where it ascended the mountain,^o and proceeded to the station of Llanvair ar y bryn, near Llandovery. A stone, supposed to be a milliary, bearing this inscription, “ *Imperatori Domino nostro Marco Cassiano Latino Postumo Pio felici Aug.*”^p was found in the year 1769, near a house call the Heath Cock, on Tre-castle hill, which seems to indicate the direction of this causeway.^q

At *Llanvair ar y bryn*, or the church of St. Mary on the hill, we have another undoubted station, hitherto little known, but which I had the opportunity of fully ascertaining, not only from the remains of its earthen works, but from the bricks and pottery which were scattered about its precincts. Coins, antique lamps, and bricks, such as the Romans used for their *sudatoria*, or baths, have been frequently found there; and a peasant, on asking him the name of the spot, called it *Tre Coch*, or the *Red City*, a title most assuredly derived from its former construction of *brick*. The situation of this station is truly pleasing, and such as the Romans generally selected for their stations; on a gentle eminence, commanding three beautiful vallies, watered on the south-west by the river Towy, and on the north-east by the Braen. From the many roads that met at this place (and which I shall have occasion hereafter to mention), this must have been an important station.

^o The *old* turnpike road some years ago led over this dreary tract of mountains, but is now forsaken; a new line having been taken through the vale of Usk to Llandovery.

^p This inscription has been removed to a cottage adjoining Lord Dinevor's park at Newton near Llandilo, where I saw it; but it has suffered so much from the decay of time, that I could only decypher the words IMP. and CASSIANO.

^q I think it very likely that another Roman or British road may be found through the valley (by Trum sarn) or the ridge of the causeway, which would lead in a more direct line to the station of *Muridunum* at Caermarthen.

I think the Roman road continued from hence along the vale,* by Llandilo to *Muridunum* or Caermarthen. At a place called *Llwyn y ffortun*, or the Grove of Fortune, a pot, containing a great variety of fine Roman coins was found, amongst which I remarked those of *Domitian*, *Probus*, *Aurelian*, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Carausius*. As the Roman causeway, if conducted through the vale of Towy, could deviate but little from the present turnpike, we must not expect to find any satisfactory traces of it.

We cannot hesitate in fixing *Muridunum* at Caermarthen; though its *exact* site has not yet been ascertained.

The precise course of the Roman road from Caermarthen to Saint David's is as yet unknown. When I visited that part of the country in the year 1804, in company with my friend Mr. Fenton, we were informed by the farmers and natives that it was visible in the *Vale of Whitland*, which in the following year led my friend to the discovery of the station *ad vigesimum*.

3. *Via Occidentalis*—I have some reason to suppose that a Roman road led from the station *ad Menapiam*, along the western coast of Wales to the city of *Loventium*, or *Loventinum*. I was first led to this supposition by the following passage in the Cambrian Register, "*Sicut via Flandrensica ducit per summitatem montis, &c.*" See Itinerary, Vol. II. p. 43, and thinking it probable that this *Via*

* I was informed at Llandovery that the Roman road went on the south-west side of the river Towy towards Llandilo; but as the present turnpike is necessitated, from the nature of the country, to take the same direction, I could not expect to find any traces of the more ancient one. The *straight* line however is continued for a considerable distance, in the front of Mrs. Rice's house, where there is also a farm called *Ystraed*, which in Welsh signifies a road.

Flandrensica * might have more connexion with the *Romans* than the *Flemings*, I requested my friend, Mr. Fenton, to examine it; and he was decidedly of opinion that it was the work of the *former* and not of the latter people. Its course to *Loventium* remains to be ascertained.

In the parish of Llanio-isau, which is distant about seven miles from Lanpeder, and three from Tregaron, are the remains of a Roman city, supposed to be the *Loventinum*, placed by Ptolemy under the dominion of the people called *Demetæ*.

The inscriptions mentioned by Camden still exist, viz. VERION in the outside wall of the chimney to the farm-house, and the more entire one built up in the walls of a neighbouring cottage, D' ARTI' M' ENNIVS PRIMVS. But I had the good fortune to decypher another (far more interesting than the two former), which stands before the threshold of the farm-house. If I read it rightly, it appears to record some work done at this place by a cohort of the *second* legion, CoH· II· A--G F V P. *Cohors secunda (legionis) Augustæ fecit quinque passus*. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of an inscription found at the station of *Heriri mons* in North Wales, that accords exactly in form and sculpture with the one I am now mentioning. This city is situated on a gentle eminence, and in an open plain, on the north-

* In England, as well as in Wales, singular and very inappropriate names have been given to the roads made by the Romans. In the former country we have the Devil's dyke, the Frenchman's road, &c. &c. and in Wales the Sarn Helen, &c. &c. I was told that the old road leading from the station of *Conovium* at Caer Hên over the mountains to Aber was called *Cromwell's* road, and the one now in question seems to have been called the *Fleming's* way, from its leading perhaps into the districts of Pembrokeshire inhabited by that nation.

west banks of the river Tivy, and nearly opposite the deserted sanctuary of Landewi brevi.

From this city the Roman road proceeded to the station on the Dovey, at Penalt, to the westward of Machynlleth; and in the interval between the two, many traces of it are still visible, particularly about *Lledrod*, &c. &c.

Our next station on this coast is at *Penalt*, situated below Machynlleth on the banks of the river Dovey, where Roman bricks, pottery, &c. clearly point out its exact position.

We now enter North Wales, and continue our *Iter* to *Heriri Mons*, called in modern times *Tommen y mûr*, or the tumulus on the wall. The westerly direction of the road from hence is not known; the engineer had great difficulties to encounter, and the lofty mountain Cadair Idris lay directly in his way, preventing his carrying on the usual *straight* line. I am inclined to think that it kept its course on the eastern side of this mountain, and went either to or near Dolgelley, where Roman coins have been found, and from whence a branch of this *Via Occidentalis* might have gone to the station of *Caer Gai*, at the head of Bala Lake. At a place called *Pen y street*, or the head of the street, on the road leading from Dolgelley, to Trawsfynydd, I saw undoubted and perfect remains of the causeway, pointing to the station of *Heriri Mons* at Tommen y mûr.

This station is placed on *high* ground when compared with every other Roman post I have yet seen, but *low* when compared with the lofty mountains of the surrounding country. In taking the measure of this camp, I found it to be on the east and west sides 540 feet long, and on the north and south 400 feet. At the north west

corner, within the inclosure is an artificial *tumulus*, (from which this spot has probably gained the title of *Tommen y mŭr*, or the Tumulus on the Wall, which might either have been the burial place of some Briton, previous to the occupation of this eminence by the Romans ; or more probably may have been raised by the latter, as a guide or direction post to their troops when marching through this mountainous province. The station was inclosed by a wall, to which appertained the centurial inscription found there, and now in the possession of Mr. Oakley at Tan y Bwlch Hall. An exact engraving of it has been given in Vol. XIII. of the *Archaeologia*, except that the round dots are natural defects in the stone. It implies that the Century of Andasus made thirty-nine paces of this wall : *Centuria Andasi fecit passus XXXIX.*[†]

From the station of *Heriri Mons* our road directed its course to *Segontium*, or Caernarvon,[‡] passing through Maentwrog, a little village

[†] This station was surrounded by a wall, amongst the fragments of which we saw numerous bricks; but I could find none inscribed. The height of the *Agger* taken in a sloping direction is 35 feet; it is nearly perfect, except on part of the north and east sides, where it has been broken down. On the eastern side of the inclosure is a circular excavation, somewhat resembling a small amphitheatre. On the declivity of the hill beneath the station, in a westerly direction, is a place called *Hendrè Mŭr*, or the Old City of the Wall. Three Roman roads met at this station; the one just described leading from Penalt; another was the southern branch of the Watling-street, and a third branched off in a northerly direction towards *Conovium*, or *Caer Hên*. In giving the distances between Caernarvon and Wroxeter, Richard of Cirencester has placed xxv. miles between Segontium and *Heriri Mons*, and xxv. miles between the latter and *Mediolanum*. The former distance will agree very well on a modern computation, allowing (as we generally must do) the *Roman* admeasurement to exceed the English. As the site of *Mediolanum* is not known, we cannot speak about the distance between it and *Heriri Mons*.

[‡] An account of the Roman antiquities in the neighbourhood of Caernarvon may be seen in the *Itinerary*, Vol. II. p. 94.

in the beautiful vale of Festiniog ; where Mr. Fenton discovered in the outward walls of the church a centurial inscription, inscribed with the letters MARC---. From hence the Roman engineer had the most difficult and mountainous part of Wales to traverse ; though the modern engineers have of late conducted a new road most admirably through the vale. It is certain, however, that the Roman causeway traversed the mountain, for a Latin inscription existed by the side of it but a few years ago, and the names of places, &c. still in use, give additional proofs of this fact. In a valley called *Cwm Croesor*, and on the direct line of this road, two springs bear the name of *Ffynnon Helen* ;* the one in a little meadow, the other immediately on the right hand of the road as you ascend the northern side of the vale. The country is so formed, that for a considerable distance the causeway *could* take but *one* line, viz. from Pont Aberglaslyn to Bedgelert, and Llyn Cywellyn. Mr. Williams, in his account of the Snowdon mountains, says, “ that above the church of Bettws on this road, there is a farm called *Ystrad*, over which the *Sarn Helen* passes. There are considerable Roman remains of the ancient *Segontium* between Llanbublic and Caernarvon, and the road from Bedgelert leads directly through the largest of the Roman inclosures. See Itinerary, Vol. II. p. 92.

* This celebrated lady, to whom the foundation of almost all the roads through Wales has been attributed, was mother of Constantine. Tradition says that on this spot she received the news of the death of her son, when shedding tears, these springs immediately arose, and still bear the title of *Ffynnon Helen*, or the Fountain of Helen. The *Sarn y lleng*, or the Road of the Legion, which for convenience of pronunciation may have very easily been abbreviated into *Sarn Helen*, is certainly a more rational name for the Roman roads in Wales, and ought to be restored to those persons, who were probably the original authors of them.

Via Media, or *Devana*—This road which I have named *Devana* from its leading to *Deva*, or Chester, commences on the southern coast of Wales at *Nidus* or Neth, and directs its course through the *middle* of the principality to the northern æstuary of the Dee at Chester. Like the *Via Occidentalis*, it is vulgarly known by the name of *Sarn Helen*, and is also called *Sarn Swsan* from the station of *Caersws*. It is visible on a marsh near the town of Neth, from whence having crossed a long and dreary tract of mountains, it descends into the beautiful vale of Usk, and proceeds to the station of *Gaer*, on the banks of the little river Ysgyr. No Roman road in Wales is so perfect as this; and its preservation for so many centuries may be attributed solely to the uncultivated and uninhabited district through which it passes.

Our next station is on the river Ython at a farm called Cwm, belonging to Mr. Williams, who told us that its name was *Castelh Collen*, or the Castle of Hazel Trees. Its square form is perfect, and appears to have been encircled by a wall, and to have had many out-buildings; as without the area of the camp there are great irregularities in the ground, and numerous fragments of brick and pottery are dispersed about all the adjoining fields. The south-east side of this camp hangs over the river Ython.

The course of the Roman road to the next station, *Caersws*, is, I believe, unknown; but the name of *Maes ar Helen*, or the Field of Helen may serve as a guide to the discovery of it, as it lies exactly in the direction which the road would probably have taken.^y

^y This name is inserted in Kitchen's map of Radnorshire to the north of Castel Duybod.

At *Caersws* we have very satisfactory remains of the station, and other antiquities. It is situated on the northern banks of the Severn, and at a small distance from the village. The area of the camp is very visible, though in tillage, and intersected by a road leading from the farm house (within its precincts) to the adjoining fields. On measuring the eastern and northern sides, I found them nearly 544 feet each way. The whole area is insulated, with a road round it. All the surrounding fields are thickly strewn with fragments of brick and mortar; and in the steep bank of the river, near the meeting-house, we found a large piece of red glazed pottery, and some charcoal, seeming to indicate that near this spot was the place of burial. A labourer gave me a fluted blue bead, which he had picked up near the same spot, and told me he had found a large urn of coarse pottery, containing bones, part of a skull, teeth, &c. but not burnt. In the house of Morris Evans, I saw an ancient brick inscribed with the letters, C. I. C. F. and placed in the back of the chimney; it is somewhat similar to one described by Mr. Gough in his *Additions to Camden*, C. I. F. s. p. f.

Leaving *Caersws*, we ascended *Gwynfynidd* mountain, and with some difficulty found the continuation of the Roman road issuing from the *last* station, and pointing in a northerly direction to the *next*, called *Mediolanum*. Owing to the removal of the stones with which the causeway had been pitched, and the marshy nature of the soil, the line of this road was not so satisfactory as I could have wished, till we reached the summit of the mountain; where at a place, called *Bwlch Cae Hae*, the ridge appeared more visible than in any part of the long and dreary common we had just traversed. The approach of night, and a boggy, difficult country, put a stop to our researches; but on my arrival at Lanfair, I met the Rev.

Walter Davies, who furnished me with the following detailed account of the line of road between the stations of *Caersws* and *Mediolanum*. “ This road is called *Sarn Swsog*, is about five yards wide, the sides formed of large stones, and the space between filled with broken stones and gravel; the middle of it is somewhat elevated. It is first visible at a small house belonging to *Llwyn y brain* farm, on the edge of *Gwynfynidd* common, pointing N W; and on the S W side of it, is a circular entrenchment about 80 yards in diameter. The road proceeds on to a little rill, near a place called *the pond*, and then crosses the bank called *Esgair*, and descends to another small rill, called *Nant yr Ych*, which it traverses in its way to *Waunganol*; then leaving the common, it enters the farm of *Allt y Ffynnon* in *Aberhavesp* parish. It is very apparent in this place, (though in general obscure,) by reason of a ditch being cut across it, and the earth washed off by the rains, so that the hard stratum appears about a foot below the present surface. It passes through *Llwyd Coed* farm, and is visible on *Mynydd Llyn mawr*; and goes through a tenement, called *Ffiwd Wen*, into the parish of *Tregynon*, and continues its course over the hill through the parish of *Llanwyddelan* to a small brook, called *Nant y craig*. Here it disappears, but it probably proceeded through the inclosed ground of a farm, called *Gwenfyda*, in the parish of *Llanlughan*, and must have crossed the great road leading from Shrewsbury to Machynlleth, near *Cefn Coch*, from whence it entered the inclosed lands, and directed its course to *Llyn hir* mountain, in the parish of *Llanfair*, where it is again visible, and goes over those parts of it called *Pant y Milwyn* and *Voel Vach*, and from thence down to a morass, called *Cors Uath yr Eirion*. There the straight lines of the sides appear, though the bog is grown over it; and, on the adjacent

banks, the quarries are to be seen from whence the materials were taken to elevate the road above the turbary. This dry bank is called *Garnedd*, which the road passes, and proceeds over the lower part of *Esgair Llyn Hir*, crossing below *Ffridd ped war gwr*, down by the east side of *Llyn y gogor*, and a little further it traverses a narrow and steep dingle, called *Cwm yr Nyddfa*. It then proceeds forward to *Bwlch y drum*, and down to *Caer Bachan* in the parish of *Llanerfel*, crossing the *Llansanfraed* road at a gate, called *Llidiard y Cae*, and goes down to a little barn in the bottom of *Llyssin* ground, and crosses the river *Vyrnwy* along *Maes y velin vach*. It then crosses the *Myfod* road at a small house, called "*Pass it if you can*," in *Coed Talog* ground, and proceeds up the hill through Miss Bennett's lands near the house; and a little above it crosses the west end of a turbary along the ridge of a hill, called *Craig y go*, from whence it turns down to *Pont y styllod* near Dolanog.

This road is most visible on the hills, where the large side stones appear; and, by thrusting down a stick through the thick grass and moss, the hard original is felt about a foot below the surface: the soil has accumulated so much by time, that the plough does not go deep enough to reach the causeway. It is laid out in a straight line as far as the ground will permit, but the hills and precipices often cause the necessity of angles. From the spot, where it leaves the station at *Caersws*, it points northwards; and again so after it has left the parish of *Llanwyddelan*, steering towards that of *Llanlulan*, and appears again in the same direction at *Tyridd y drum*.*

* I have inserted this long detail, not only to give an account of this interesting tract of Roman road, but to point out to future travellers (both in England and

The very important station of *Mediolanum*, at which four roads met,^a remains yet unknown. Mr. Pennant in describing this part of Wales says, Tom. II. p. 361. “ *Dr. Worthington assured me, that the Roman road was met with in his parish (Lhan rhaiadr), at Street Vawr, near Coed y Clawdd; that it crossed Rhôs y Brithdir to Pen y street, and from thence to Llam jwrch, and Caerfach, which is supposed to be a small Roman camp; and he imagined that this road led to Chester.*”

The above account led me personally to examine these respective places. I was much disappointed at finding no signs of the causeway at *Street Vawr* (Great-street), as the name gave me sanguine hopes of discovering it; but on the other side of the common called *Rhôs y Brithdir*, near the place called *Pen y street*, or head of the street, I plainly distinguished the raised causeway, descending the hill through a narrow dingle, on the right of the present road, into the vale of the river *Tanad*. These are the *last* traces I have seen of this road in its northerly direction. From *Mediolanum*, it continued its course to *Bovium*, or *Banchor*, and from thence to *Deva*, or *Chester*. Had I been fortunate enough to discover the site of *Mediolanum*, all the stations on this long *Iter* would have been ascertained. I made three repeated visits to the *Vale of Tanad*, and explored every field I thought likely to have been occupied by the Romans; but although I found many suspicious

Wales), who may make this line of antiquity their pursuit, in what manner a Roman road should be described. On such an occasion, minuteness, (which on others oftentimes tires us,) is absolutely necessary; when the object is to rescue from oblivion the works of a nation, who resided in our island at so very remote a period.

^a The four roads were these: 1. from *Viroconium*; 2. from *Segontium* and *Heriromons*; 3. from *Deva* and *Bovium*; 4. from *Caersws*.

names, such as *Cae Castelh*, the Castle field, *Tre Hén*, the old city, &c. &c. yet I found no coins, no brick, no pottery, no inscribed stones, in short, no *index* whatever of a Roman town: it is, however, singular, that a tradition should so universally prevail amongst the natives, of a *large old city* having once stood in the *Vale of Tanad*, and on the very spot where, from the direction of the *Via Devana*, I should have expected it to meet^b the branch of the *Southern Watling-street*; but after many minute and tedious researches, I could gain no satisfactory information on this subject.

The *latter* part only of this *Iter*, from *Mediolanum* to *Deva*, has been preserved by Antonine, who has thus marked the distances between the stations in his second *Iter*, *A Mediolano, Bovio* m. p. X. *Deva* Leg. XX. Vict. m. p. XX.

5. *Via Orientalis*—This *Iter* is recorded both by Antonine and Richard, who differ only one mile in their distances between the stations.

ANTONINE.		RICHARD.	
<i>Ab Iscá Leg. Aug.</i>		<i>Ab Iscá Leg. Aug.</i>	
<i>Burrio</i>	<i>M. P. IX.</i>	<i>Bultro</i>	<i>M. P. VIII.</i>
<i>Gobannio</i>	<i>M. P. XII.</i>	<i>Gobannio</i>	<i>M. P. XII.</i>
<i>Magnis</i>	<i>M. P. XXII.</i>	<i>Magna</i>	<i>M. P. XXIII.</i>
<i>Bravinio</i>	<i>M. P. XXIV.</i>	<i>Branogenio</i>	<i>M. P. XXIII.</i>
<i>Urioconio</i>	<i>M. P. XXVII.</i>	<i>Urioconio</i>	<i>M. P. XXVII.</i>
<i>Miles 94.</i>		<i>Miles 93.</i>	

From the accordant distance between *Isca* (Caerleon) and *Usk*, we have every reason to suppose, that the *latter* was the station

^b We very frequently find the Roman stations placed at or near the intersection of two roads; and this circumstance *has* and *may* often lead to the discovery of stations.

mentioned by Antonine under the name of *Burrium*, and by Richard as *Bultrum* and *Ballium*. Neither have we more substantial grounds for placing *Gobannium* at Abergavenny; but its name (derived from the little river *Gevenni*), and distance from Usk, are sufficient to establish the site of this *second* station.

Between *Gobannium* and *Magna*, we go upon surer grounds; for a great part of the Roman causeway is both known and visible. There can be no doubt of *Kenchester* being the *Magna* of the *Iter*; in short, its British and Roman names are the same; *Kenchester* being derived from *cyn*, great, and *chester*, synonymous with *castrum*, camp.

It is recorded (together with *Gobannium*) as having been one of the *cities* of the *Silures* under their capital *Venta*, or Caerwent. “*Civitates Silurum, Sariconium, Magna, Gobannium, et Venta, eorum caput fuerunt.*”

The next station on this *Iter* has been recorded by Antonine, as bearing the title of *Bravinium*, and by Richard, that of *Branogenium*. On this occasion, I am inclined to give the preference to Antonine; for as Richard has united *Branogenium* with *Mediolanum*, cities of the *Ordovices*; and as the river Teme has generally been considered as the boundary between that people and the *Silures*, we must not look for *Branogenium* on the *southern* banks of it. From the similarity of names, by which antiquarians are often misled, *Bravinium* has been placed at Brandon camp; but whoever views this encampment, will find no indications whatever of a British or Roman *city*; it was evidently the camp of *Ostorius* from which he attacked *Caractacus*, who was posted on the opposite side of the river Teme at *Coxall Knoll*. The site therefore of *Branogenium*

genium remains undetermined; but from the natural situation of Lentwardine, and its relative distance with Kenchester, I imagine that this station was somewhere near that village. The course of this Roman road is well known, and very visible in many places near Stretford, Mortimer's Cross, Wigmore, &c. &c.

From *Branogenium* the Roman road proceeded to *Urioconium*, or Wroxeter; and its course by the villages of Stretton is very decisive and well known. Many Roman antiquities have been found, and large fragments of masonry are still remaining at Wroxeter, which, according to Richard, was distinguished and dignified with the title of *Mother of the British cities*. “*Et reliquarum mater, Urioconium, quæ inter Britanniae civitates maximas, nomen possidebat.*”

At *Wroxeter* this road was traversed by a branch of the *Southern Watling-street*, which I shall have occasion to mention, when I treat of the roads of communication.

But this *Iter* is continued both by Antonine and Richard, as far as Chester, though the former makes a more circuitous route through *Mediolanum* to that city.^c

ANTONINE.		RICHARD.	
<i>Ab Urioconio.</i>		<i>Ab Virioconio.</i>	
<i>Rutunio</i>	<i>M. P. XI.</i>	<i>Banchorio</i>	<i>M. P. XXVI.</i>
<i>Mediolano</i>	<i>M. P. XII.</i>	<i>Deva colonia</i>	<i>M. P. X.</i>
<i>Bovio</i>	<i>M. P. XX.</i>		
<i>Deva</i>	<i>M. P. X.</i>		

^c In this *Iter* we must observe, that the name of *Bovium* is applied by Antonine, and that of *Banchorium* by Richard, to the same station. Though Roman coins have been found at Banchor, we have no decisive authority to fix the station there; but as the distances in *each* *Iter* agree, and as Richard has mentioned it by the name of *Banchorium*, it is probable that *Bovium* stood on the site of Banchor.

I know not for what reason Antonine, in this second *Iter*, which leads from the northern part of England to the sea-coast of Kent, made the unnecessary digression to *Mediolanum*; but similar instances may be found in other *Itinera*.

Having never examined personally the line of country between Wroxeter, Banchor, and Chester, I can give no account of the direction of the Roman road between those places.

At the last mentioned station, *Deva*, or Chester, were the boundaries between the provinces denominated *Flavia* and *Secunda*; the latter, which constituted the greater part of Wales, was separated from *Britannia Flavia* by the river Dee, and from *Britannia Prima* by the Severn.

Having traced the course of the three principal Roman roads that intersected Cambria from south to north, and to which, for distinction sake, I have given the names of *Via Occidentalis*, *Media*, and *Orientalis*; I shall now give an account of the *cross* roads, or roads of communication. The first of these is a branch of the *Northern Watling-street*, which coming from the north of Scotland, entered Wales at Chester, from which place its course is marked both by Antonine and Richard, with a difference between them of only one mile.

ANTONINE.		RICHARD.	
<i>Deva</i>	<i>M. P.</i>	<i>Deva</i>	<i>colonia.</i>
<i>Varis</i>	<i>M. P. XXXII.</i>	<i>Varis</i>	<i>M. P. XXX.</i>
<i>Conovio</i>	<i>M. P. XIX.</i>	<i>Conovio</i>	<i>M. P. XX.</i>
<i>Segontio</i>	<i>XXIV.</i>	<i>Seguntio</i>	<i>M. P. XXIV.</i>

I can give no satisfactory account of any part of the ancient road between these stations. *Varis* is generally supposed to have stood

near Bodfari. The exact site of *Conovium* has been fixed at *Caer Hên*, on the banks of the river Conwy, where Roman bricks inscribed with the initials of the *Legio XX. V. V.*, and many other antiquities, have been found. From hence the road ascended the mountains, and passing by *Bwlch y ddyfaen*, came to the sea coast near Aber, from whence it probably followed the banks of the Menai to the station at *Segontium*.^c

Let us now return to Wroxeter, and endeavour to trace the *Southern Watling-street* in its progress through Wales. I have before mentioned the course of this British road, which entered Wales at *Uriconium*, or Wroxeter, and proceeded from thence to *Rutunium* (Rowton), *Mediolanum* (unknown), *Heriri Mons* (Tommen y môr), to *Segontium*, or Caernarvon.

This Iter is thus mentioned by Richard, ITER II. *A Seguntio Virioconium usque, M. P. LXXIII sic : Heriri Monte M. P. XXV. Mediolano XXV. Rutunio XII. Virioconio XI.* We have every reason to suppose that the first station of *Rutunium* is either at or near Rowton, though its *exact site* has never been properly ascertained. Leaving *Rutunium*, the Roman road skirts the northern base of the Breddin Hills, and crosses the Severn at the village of Llandrinio, near which, at a place called *Street*, it is very visible; as indeed it is in some other places before. From hence nature seems to have pointed out the vale of Tanad for its course; but on a survey of it I could see no traces whatever, nor could gain any satisfactory information on the subject. In this vale it certainly

^c I have been told that on the mountains between *Caer Hên* and Aber, there is an old paved causeway, vulgarly called *Cromwell's road*.

met the *Via Media*, at the station of *Mediolanum*; and from thence continued along the same vale to Llangynnog, beyond which place I again got scent of it. Leaving the modern road to the right, it ascended the valley to a spot called *Milltir-gerrig*, or the Stone Mile; a name frequently to be found on the tracks of Roman roads in Wales, and from thence to *Trum y sarn*, the ridge of the causeway; when, having reached the summit of the mountain, it descended gradually, and in many places visibly, towards Bala. I am inclined to think that it left the town of Bala to the right, and took its direction by Fron; as beyond this latter place the name of *Sarn Hir*, or the *Long Causeway*, is still preserved over a dreary and peaty tract of common. Its course to the station of *Heriri Mons*, or *Tommen y môr*, could have been only through a passage amongst the mountains called *Bwlch y buarth*. From this station it fell in with the *Via Occidentalis* before described, and continued with it to *Segontium*, or Caernarvon.

ROADS OF COMMUNICATION

(NAMES UNKNOWN).

1. From the station of *Heriri Mons* there are undoubted traces of a road leading towards Dolwyddelan castle, and the vale of the Conwy, probably to the station of *Conovium* at *Caer Hên*.

2. Another road led probably from Dolgelley along the valley, where the river Dee has its source, to the *undoubted* Roman station at *Caer Gai*, near the head of Bala lake. The town of Bala, from its wide and straight street, bears a very Roman appearance. I think that this road may have been continued over the country to the station of *Varis*.

3. I have reason to think that another road of communication branched off from the *Via Occidentalis* at Penalt, on the Dovey, in an easterly direction to the station on the Severn at *Caersws*,* for at this latter place it is very visible, and its remains are so singular, that I shall describe them from my journal taken on the spot in the year 1804, when I examined *Caersws* and its neighbourhood. From *Caersws* the Roman road steered its course easterly to a farm-house called *Maes Mawr*, belonging to Mr. Price Davies, whose house may almost be said to stand *upon* it, for it passes directly *through* a gateway adjoining. On examining the line on each side of this house, I plainly distinguished the road with its stratum of gravel, in the banks of the river both to the west and east; so often as the capricious Severn altered its course. Between the house and the river the causeway is very visible. The road is intersected a third time by the Severn, when it is easily traced to the turnpike road by the elevated ridge of a long hedge that stands upon it, and comes out opposite to a small house surrounded with fir trees, and near some ponds by the road side. From this place I could not ascertain its course with any degree of certainty, though informed that after traversing some meadows, it found the publick road at a place called *Pen y strywaed*, a corruption, perhaps, of *Pen y straed*, or *Pen y street*, the Head of the Street. At Newtown I gained some further information respecting the progress of this road, from Mr. Lewis, the resident clergyman of the place, who shewed it me again in several fields to the right of the road leading to Welsh pool, nearly opposite to a British entrenchment, and the parish church

* I was told at *Caersws* that this road was continued in a westerly direction by Park and Trefeglwys, towards Penalt.

Llanllwchaiarn. It is singular that this road should still serve as a boundary between two parishes, and it is mentioned as such in old deeds. Its direction is undoubtedly to a fine Roman camp called *Gaer*, near the Severn, between Montgomery and Welsh pool, from whence a friend of mine, residing in Shropshire, has traced it easterly to Marten pool; but it remains rather doubtful whether its ultimate destination was to *Rutunium* or *Uriconium*.

4. From the city of *Loventium* there are evident remains of a road leading to *Muridunum*, or Caermarthen, which were shewn to me at *Lanpeder* near the bridge, in the banks of the river, and in some meadows adjoining, steering its course on the northern side of the Tivy, towards Pencarreg. On our enquiring of a peasant whom we saw standing in a field by the road side, if he knew any thing of the *Sarn Helen*? “Yes,” he replied, “I stand upon it now, and I but lately dug up the stones with which it was paved.” It is visible at intervals as far as the New Inn; between which place and Caermarthen I could see no appearance of it, but its direction to that place is certain.

5. From *Loventium* there was another road leading to the station at *Llanvair ar y bryn*, near Llandovery, which I also endeavoured to trace. Continuing along the vale of Tivy, as far as the village of Lanvair, I there ascended the mountain, where, from the ruggedness of the pavement, and its bearings, I soon discovered my friend *Helen*. On exchanging this rough tract for a smooth turf, the ridge of the causeway became more visible, and in one part nearly perfect. On reaching the base of a high mountain it necessarily deviated from its usual straight line, and turned off to the right; and here, on this distinguished summit, I saw one of

those *tumuli*, so often placed by the Romans on similar heights to mark the course of their roads. I observed also on the sides of the road numerous excavations that had furnished materials for the construction of the causeway. From this mountain we descended towards Llanycrwys church, which we left a little to the right, keeping, I think, as nearly as possible on the track of the old road, which we afterwards distinguished in two places near the little river *Twrch* in the valley, and where the natives knew it by the old name of *Sarn Helen*. From this place we passed by *Caoi*, where there were some extensive mines, and probably worked by the Romans; but their history seems as little known as the further progress of the causeway towards Llandovery.

Lhanvair ar y bryn, or the *Tre Coch* (Red City), appears to have been an important station. I have already mentioned three roads that met at it, and I shall add a fourth, pointing in a north-east direction to the post upon the Ython. At the distance of five or six miles I distinguished a part of the causeway upon a wild heath (pointing north and south), near a place called *Ludlow Vach*, or Little Ludlow. Here, in former times, stood a public-house, where the South Wales men met to settle their differences previous to attending the Lords Marchers at Ludlow. The house being situated in *two* counties, favoured the smuggler, and puzzled the exciseman. I again saw faint traces of this road (for the stones had been removed), on the extensive commons near Llandrindod wells, pointing directly to the station on the Ython which I have before described.

From *Lhanvair ar y bryn* there was probably a road of communication with *Magna*, or Kenchester.

6. Another road yet remains to be noticed, which was discovered by my friend Mr. Coxe, on the mountains in Monmouthshire, near *Bedwelty*. The causeway is perfect for many miles, and bears apparently north-west to the station at *Gaer*, near Brecknock; and south-east to Caerphilly, and the station on the Taf near Cardiff. Besides these roads, the Roman remains that have been found in many other parts of Wales, at Flint castle, Caergwrle, Holt castle on the Dee, Holyhead, or Caer Gybi, &c. &c. give us strong reason to suppose that many other lines of communication were cut through the country, and that many other stations, whose situation we are not at present able to ascertain, existed in those times when Cambria was subject to the control of the Roman legions.

I have mentioned only the principal Roman roads that have fallen under my own observation during repeated tours through the principality. The account is by no means so perfect or satisfactory as I could wish; but with all its imperfections I submit it to the public, hoping that it may induce some intelligent Cambrian to fill up, what deserves the name only of a mere outline of an interesting design.

As that part of our island of which I am now treating, is not mentioned by the Roman historians after its final conquest by Julius Agricola in the year 78, we may conclude that it enjoyed a long period of ease and tranquillity; during which time stations were made, garrisons established, and roads of communication cut through every part of Cambria. The Britons, enervated by the enjoyments of those luxuries and comforts which it was the good policy of their victors to introduce amongst them; and by a long

discontinuance of war, being unused to the practice of arms, lost in a great measure that martial spirit which once shone so conspicuous in their native character. They were ill prepared to resist the attacks of a rude and hardy race of people (the Picts and Scots) who about the year 360 made inroads into Britain. A. D. 364 (under the empire of Valentinian and Valens) these inroads of the barbarous nations became general over the continent, as well as in our island: “ *Hoc tempore velut per universum orbem Romanorum bellicis canentibus buccinis, excitæ gentes sævissimæ limites sibi proximos persultabant. Gallias Rhætiasque simul Alamanni populabantur; Sarmatæ Pannonias; et Quadi, Picti, Saxonesque et Scotti, et Attacolti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis. Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXVI. Cap. 5.* Necessity at length compelled the Romans to withdraw their legions from Britain, in order if possible to secure their domestic provinces against the attacks of their barbarous enemies. The departure of the Romans from Britain has been fixed by Horsley in the year 446.

Wotton in his preface to the *Leges Wallicæ* has given a spirited and interesting account of the state of Wales, when freed from the Roman yoke: “ *Per quadringentos ferè annos jus Cæsareum, variè quidem pro diverso rerum statu immutatum, amplexi sunt Britanni. Post discessum Romanorum, non amplius eorum legibus, sed suo arbitratu degerunt vitam. Omnia verò statum in pejus ruere, rempublicam, quam nec a barbaris tueri, nec inter se legitimè gubernare poterant, vi magis et incertâ consuetudine, quàm definitis legibus constabant. Cum novis hostibus, non de juris aut vectigalium ratione, sed de aris focusque certatum est. Nec ab incursionum terroribus et miseriis tantum erat otii, ut civilia pacis negotia respicerentur. Res erat*

istius ætatis armorum cura ; nullus omnino humanioribus studiis locus, et remissâ juris auctoritate, deterrima quæque impunè grassabantur. Diversorum principum imperia tantum distrahendis viribus inservire, et hostibus faciliorem ad victorias aperuebant viam."

For the term of nearly four hundred years, the Britons had been subject to the Roman government. After the departure of the Romans, they no longer controlled themselves under their laws, but each person acted according to his own will and pleasure. Their situation became every day more perilous, and the new republic, which they could neither defend by force against the barbarians, nor govern lawfully amongst themselves, was founded more on an arbitrary and uncertain system of legislation, than by any fixed code of regulations.

They did not contend with their new enemy about privileges or tribute, but for their altars and their homes ; nor had they sufficient respite from the alarms and miseries of invasion, to be able to attend to the civil concerns of peace. The care of arms was the sole occupation of that period ; no time for more civilized employments ; and uncontrolled by any legal authority, vice stalked abroad unpunished. The divisions of new principalities served only to distract their strength, and opened an easier inroad to the victories of their enemies.

The departure of the Romans was a death-blow to the peace and tranquillity which the Britons had enjoyed for above four centuries, under their mild and luxurious government. Their protectors were no longer at hand to defend them from the barbarians, who attacked them on all sides ; and they had neither arms nor spirit to support their own cause. In this humiliating and distressful situation, the

Britons, by the advice of Vortigern their king, applied to the Saxons for relief, who complied with their request, and undertook their defence. Upon this occasion, Gildas exclaims, “*O altissimam sensus caliginem! O desperabilem crudamque mentis hebetudinem! Quos propensius morte, cum abessent, timebant; sponte (ut ita dicam) sub unius tecti culmine invitabant.*” What incredible blindness! what astonishing want of forethought! to admit those very people under their own roof, whom, when absent, they dreaded more than death!

At first their new allies appeared active and sincere in the cause they had undertaken, and succeeded in repelling the Picts and Scots; but in a short time, upon ill founded pretences, they deserted the friends who had summoned them to their assistance, and treacherously made an alliance with their enemies the Scots. The Britons, alarmed for the safety of their country, at length took up arms, and, by their acts of valour and good conduct, retrieved in some degree that martial character which the enervating policy of the Roman government had endeavoured to depress. Still, however, their power was not sufficiently great to resist the enemy, who became more interested and established in Britain by the marriage of Vortigern with the daughter of the Saxon conqueror, Hengist. This marriage gave great offence to his son Vortimer, who resolved to take the government into his own hands, and endeavour to expel the Saxons; but premature death by poison frustrated the execution of his plans. His noble cause was successfully pursued by several British princes, though the Saxons ultimately prevailed, and the Britons were dispersed into different parts of the island. Some retired beyond the rivers Dee and Severn

into Wales; others into Cornwall; and some found refuge across the seas in Armorica, or Bretagne. This dispersion of the Britons, we are told by Powel in his Welsh Chronicle, took place A. D. 590: the particulars of which I shall here transcribe.

“About the yeare of Christ 590, Gurmundus, an archpirate and capteine of the Norwegians, after that he had conquered Ireland, being called by the Saxons to their aid against Careticus King of Britains, overcame the same Careticus in battell, and compelled him and his Brytaines to flee beyond the rivers of Severne and Dee to Cambria, now called Wales, and to Cornwale, and some to Brytaine Armo-rike, where they remaine to this daie;^f and gave Lhoegria, now England, to the Saxons. And albeit, that Cadvan, Cadwalhan, and Cadwalader, were sithence entituled Kings of all Brytaine, yet they could never recover againe the quiet possession of the whole island afterwards.

Cadwalader, who is called the last king of the Britons, was by extreme plagues of death and famine, driven to forsake his realm and native country, and to sojourn, with a great number of his nobles and subjects, with his cousin Alan, King of Little Britain, or Armorica; who, during the absence of Cadwalader at Rome, sent over a considerable army against the Saxons, under the command of his son Ivor, who, landing in the western coast of England, fought a bloody battle, and got possession of the counties of Cornwal, Devon, and Somerset. But Kentwyn, King of the West Saxons, marched immediately to attack Ivor; and the armies were in sight of each other, when it was proposed to seal an alliance by the marriage of

^f It has been asserted, and I believe upon good grounds, that the inhabitants of Bretagne in France are conversant both with the Welsh and Cornish dialects.

Ivor with Ethelburga, cousin to Kentwyn. Ivor, fatigued with the cares of government, went to Rome, where he died, A. D. 720, having resigned the government of the Saxons to his nephew Adelred, and that of the Britons to Roderic Molwynoc, son of Edwal Ywrch, who was son of Cadwalader. At this time we find three of the western counties of England annexed to the territories of the Britons in Wales. The contentions for them caused continual warfare between the Britons and Saxons, which terminated so much in favour of the latter, that Roderic Molwynoc was at length obliged to relinquish them, and claim his inheritance in North Wales A. D. 750, which he did not long enjoy.

A. D. 755. Conan Tindaethwy, his eldest son, succeeded to the kingdom of Wales, and was, like his father, much molested by the Saxons, who made encroachments on the territory of the Welsh beyond the Severn. They in their turn took up arms, and uniting all their forces, made many successful incursions upon the Saxon territory. Upon which, Offa, King of Mercia, united himself with the Saxons in order to stop these predatory attacks of the Welsh, who unable to resist so numerous an army, retired to their natural strongholds amongst the rocks and mountains, and from thence continued their inroads against the enemy with success; upon which, Offa annexed the country between the Wye and Severn to his kingdom of Mercia, and planted it with Saxons; and for a further security, caused a great ditch to be made, which was called *Clawdh Offa*, or Offa's Dyke.

A. D. 795. This year the Danes came into England; and there was a sore battle fought, between the Saxons and the Welsh, at Ruthlan, in which Caradoc King of North Wales was slain; and

in the year 810, Saint David's was burnt by the West Saxons. At this time, unfortunately for Cambria, the two brothers Conan Tyndaethwy and Howel fell at variance, and at the very moment when their united efforts were most essentially requisite to repel the common enemy. Conan obliged his brother Howel to seek shelter in the Isle of Man, and dyed shortly afterwards, leaving an only daughter, named *Esylht*, who married a nobleman, called *Mervyn Vrych*, and with him ascended the throne A. D. 818. During the reign of this prince, the northern district of Wales was ravaged by Egbert King of the West Saxons; as was West Wales by Kenulph King of Mercia; the former of whom, by his successful victories, established about the year 829 the Saxon Heptarchy. In the year 833, the Welsh united with the Danes against the Saxons, but were defeated by Egbert on Hengist down; and in a subsequent battle at Kettel, between Burchred King of Mercia and the Britons, Mervyn Vrych is said to have been slain.

He was succeeded A. D. 843, by his son *Rhodri Mawr*, or *Roderic the Great*, who enjoyed the whole sovereignty of North and South Wales. The tranquillity of his reign was not only disturbed by the hostilities of the Danes and West Saxons headed by King Ethelwolph, but by his own countrymen the Welsh, who began to quarrel and fall out amongst themselves. This prince died A. D. 876, and adopting the pernicious custom of *gavelkind*,^s divided his

^s To this usage may be attributed the continual disturbances, that kept Wales in a state of turbulence and warfare for so many centuries. Powel, in his notes on the Welsh Chronicle, thus speaks of it, p. 21: "Heere I think it fit to saie somewhat of the custome and tenure of Wales, whereof this mischiefe grew, that is the division of the father's inheritance amongst all the sonnes, commonlie called *Gavel kinde*. *Gavel* is a Brytishe tearme, signifieng a *hold*, because everie one of the sonnes did hold some

kingdom into three parts, and gave a portion to each of his three sons. The fatal and mistaken policy of this subdivision soon became conspicuous; for *Cadelh*, to whom the district of Dinevawr in South Wales had been allotted, being dissatisfied with his portion, dispossessed his brother *Merfyn* of the principality of Powys. For many successive years the country continued a prey to hostile invasions, and intestine divisions. It enjoyed a temporary state of tranquillity under the reign of *Howel*, surnamed *Dha*, or the *Good*, who, on the death of his cousin *Edwal Voel*, took upon him the government of Wales about the year 940. The first object of his reign was to reform the laws of his realm; for which purpose, he summoned together all the prelates, clergy, barons, and nobles of the country, at the *Tŷ gwyn ar Taf*, or the White House on the river Taf,^a where he attended in person. He afterwards selected from the assembly twelve of the wisest and most experienced men, to whom he added a doctor of the laws named *Blegored*, a man of singular learning and wisdom. These he charged to examine the old laws and customs of Wales, and to select those which they thought best adapted to the constitution of

portion of his father's lands, as his lawfull sonne and successour. This was the cause, not onlie of the overthrow of all the ancient nobilitie of Wales, (for by that meanes, the inheritance being continuallie divided and subdivided amongst the children, and the children's children, &c. was at length brought to nothing,) but also of much bloodshed and unnaturall strife and contention amongst brethren, as we have heere an example (speaking of the dissention between Conan and Howel), and manie other in this historie. This kind of partition is verie good to plant and settle anie nation in a large countrie not inhabited, but in a populous countrie alreadie furnished with inhabitants, it is the verie decaie of great families, and the cause of strife and debate."

^a This house, though it bears the same name, must not be confounded with the abbey at Whitland; the former of which stood nearer the turnpike road leading from Saint Clear's to Narbeth than the other.

the country; to reject those that were doubtful; and to abrogate those that were hurtful and superfluous. And for the better observation of this new code of laws, he caused the Archbishop of Saint David's to denounce sentence of excommunication against all such of his subjects as refused obedience to them; and that nothing might be wanting to procure countenance and authority to them, he went to Rome, attended by the Archbishop of Saint David's, the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, and thirteen others of the most learned men in Wales, to procure the ratification of them by the Pope. This illustrious prince died A. D. 948, after a short and truly honourable reign.¹

The next memorable epoch in the history of Cambria is the landing of the Normans, A. D. 1091. From the death of Howel Dha, A. D. 948, one hundred and forty-three years had elapsed; during which period the Welsh had profited but little by the salutary regulations of that wise legislator, for their country was in a constant ferment, either from external wars or internal disputes. After the conquest of England by William the Conqueror, the Welsh princes had occasionally requested the assistance of his countrymen the Normans, who, having once tasted the fruits of rapine and plunder, repeated their visits uncalled for. In the year 1079, William entered Wales with a large army, and marched as far as Saint David's, where he offered homage to the Saint, and took homage from the kings and princes of the land. In the year 1091, Robert Fitz Hamon and his knights conquered the province of

¹ In the yeare 948 died Howel Dha, the noble King, or Prince of Wales, whose death was sore bewailed of all men, for he was a prince that loved peace and good order, and that feared God. Powel, p. 58.

Glamorgan; and his example was followed by many other Norman chiefs. Bernard Newmarch took Brecknock; Roger de Montgomery, Cardigan; Arnulph, his younger son, Pembroke; and thus the greater part of South Wales was subdued by the desultory enterprises of a few Norman lords. North Wales shared the same fate; for the Earl of Shrewsbury did homage for Powys, fortifying the town and castle of Baldwyn, which he called after his own name, Montgomery; Hugh Lupus did homage for Englefield and Rhyvonioc; Ralph Mortimer for Elvel; Hugh de Lacie for Ewias, and Eustace Cruer for Mold and Hopedale. The first object of these Norman lords was to erect strong castles, as a security for their usurped dominions; the ruins of many of which are still extant in the principality. In the year 1102, King Henry the First bestowed several other lordships and castles in Wales on Normans and Englishmen; and in order still further to break the spirit of the Cambrians, in the year 1108, he introduced a large colony of Flemings into Pembrokeshire.*

The next event worthy of record, and the last that I shall mention, is the preaching of the Crusades in Wales, A. D. 1188. The preceding interval of eighty years was signalized by no one important act that could do honour to the prince, or contribute to the aggrandizement of the district which he governed. Continual wars with the new settlers, and their partizans the English, added to intestine divisions, kept the whole country in a constant state of tumult and agitation. At this period, Rhys ap Gruffydh, called the Lord Rhys, was Prince of South Wales; and David ap Owen,

* In the districts allotted to this colony of Flemings, the English, and not the Welsh, is spoken to this day. See Itinerary, Vol. I. p. 196.

son of Owen Gwynedh, had usurped the dominion of North Wales from its lawful inheritor Jorwerth Drwyndwn.

Let my readers judge of the licentious and savage state of Cambria at the period about which this *Iter* of Baldwin took place, by the events recorded in the Welsh Chronicle, by Dr. Powel.

“ A. D. 1186. At this time Cadwalader sonne to the Lord Rhees was slaine privilie in West Wales, and buried in the Tŷ Gwyn.

The next yeare Owen Vachan, the sonne of Madoc ap Meredyth, was slaine in the castle of Carreghova in the night time by Gwenwynwyn and Cadwalhon, the sonnes of Owen Cyvelioc; and shortlie after Llewelyn sonne to Cadwallon ap Gruffyth ap Conan, who was murtherd by the Englishmen, was taken by his own brethren, and had his eyes put out.” Powel, p. 241.

Having given a short detail of the principal events that distinguished the history of Cambria, since the departure of the Romans from our island, to that enthusiastic and fanatic period when the service of the Cross was preached through the most mountainous districts in Wales; I shall no longer trespass on the patience of my readers. The liberty and independance of this nation terminated with the life of the unfortunate Prince Llewelyn ap Gruffyth, in the year 1282, when by a statute made at Ruthlan in Flintshire, King Edward the First incorporated and annexed the Principality of Wales to the crown of England; constituting several new and wholesome laws, and abrogating those made by Howel Dha, by which the country had been hitherto governed.

THE HISTORY OF A BRAVE PEOPLE STRUGGLING FOR LIBERTY AND INDEPENDANCE MUST BE INTERESTING TO EVERY BRITON; BUT WHEN, ON PERUSING THE ANNALS OF THIS NATION, WE FIND THEM STAINED WITH A CONTINUED DETAIL OF THE MOST BARBAROUS ACTS OF RAPINE, MURDER, AND DEVASTATION; THAT INTEREST AND SYMPATHY, WHICH WE SHOULD OTHERWISE FEEL FOR THEIR CAUSE, IF GUIDED BY JUSTICE AND HUMANITY, IS CONSIDERABLY LESSENE; AND WE NO LONGER LAMENT THAT A CAUSE CONDUCTED ON PRINCIPLES SO REVOLTING TO HUMAN NATURE, SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ATTENDED WITH MORE PROSPEROUS SUCCESS.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of the principal Occurrences in Britain from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar, and the Conquest of Cambria by Julius Agricola, to the period of Archbishop Baldwin's Itinerary.

A. U. C.	A. C.	Emperors.	ROMAN ÆRA.
698	55	- -	Julius Cæsar makes his first attempt upon Britain.
699	54	- -	He makes a second attempt, and penetrates as far as Verulam.
	A. D.		
795	43	Claudius.	Aulus Plautius comes with an army into Britain.
796	44	- -	The Emperor Claudius comes in person.
802	50	- -	Ostorius Scapula succeeds Plautius. He conquers the British chieftain Caractacus, and sends him captive to Rome.
805	53	- -	Didius Gallus is appointed governor of Britain.
809	57	Nero.	Veranius succeeds Didius Gallus, and dies within a year.
810	58	- -	Suetonius Paulinus succeeds. He subdues the British Queen Boadicea.
814	62	- -	Petronius Turpilianus is appointed governor of Britain.
817	65	- -	Trebellius Maximus, governor.
821	69	Otho. Vitellius. Vespasian.	} Vectius Bolanus, governor.
823	71	- -	Petilius Cerealis succeeds to Vectius Bolanus, and reduces the nation of the Brigantes.
827	75	- -	Julius Frontinus conquers the warlike tribe of the Silures.
830	78	Vespasian.	Julius Agricola succeeds to the command of the Roman army, and reduces the island of Mona, or Anglesey, the last stronghold of the Britons in Wales.
1116	364	Valentinian and Valens.	The Scots, Picts, and Saxons infest Britain.
1198	446	Theodosius and Valentinian.	} Britain abandoned by the Romans.
			BRITISH ÆRA.
	590	- -	Dispersion of the Britons.
	876	- -	Division of Wales by Rhodri Mawr, or Roderic the Great.
	940	- -	Code of Welsh laws framed and established by Howel Dha, or the Good.
	1091	- -	The Normans land in Wales, and conquer the province of Glamorgan.
	1108	- -	A colony of Flemings introduced into Pembrokeshire.
	1188	- -	The Crusades preached by Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, and Giraldus de Barri, Archdeacon of Brecknock.
	1282	- -	Death of Llewelyn ap Gruffydh, last Prince of Wales, and incorporation of the Principality with England.

THE
ITINERARY
OF
ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN
THROUGH
WALES.

FIRST PREFACE.

TO

STEPHEN LANGTON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

As the times are affected by the changes of circumstances, so are the minds of men influenced by different manners and customs. The satyrist Persius exclaims,

“ Mille hominum species et mentis discolor usus

“ Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno.”

“ Nature is ever various in her name,

“ Each has a different will, and few the same.”

The comic poet also says “ *Quot capita tot sententiæ, suus cuique mos est.*” “ As many men, so many minds, each has his way.” Young soldiers exult in war, and pleaders delight in the gown; others aspire after riches, and think them the supreme good. Some approve Galen, some Justinian. Those who are desirous of honours follow the court, and from their ambitious pursuits meet with

more mortification than satisfaction.^a Some, indeed, but very few take pleasure in the liberal arts, amongst whom we cannot but admire logicians, who, when they have made only a trifling progress, are as much enchanted with the images of Dialectics, as if they were listening to the songs of the Syrens.

But among so many species of men, where are to be found divine poets? Where the noble assertors of morals? Where the masters of the Latin tongue? Who in the present times displays lettered eloquence, either in history or poetry? Who, I say, in our own age, either builds a system of ethics, or consigns illustrious actions to immortality? Literary fame, which used to be placed in the highest rank, is now, because of the depravity of the times, tending to ruin and degraded to the lowest, so that persons attached to study are at present not only not imitated nor venerated, but even detested. "Happy indeed would be the arts," observes Fabius, "if artists alone judged of the arts;" but, as Sydonius says, "it is a fixed principle in the human mind, that they who are ignorant of the arts, despise the artist."

But to revert to our subject. Which, I ask, have rendered more service to the world, the arms of Marius, or the verses of Virgil? The sword of Marius has rusted, while the fame of him who wrote the *Æneid* is immortal; and although in his time letters were honoured by lettered persons, yet from his own pen we find,

" — — — — — tantum
Carmina nostra valent tela inter Martia, quantum
Chaonias dicunt, aquilâ veniente, columbas."

^a Here Giraldus adverts feelingly to his own situation as a courtier.

“ But verse mid dreadful war’s mad tumults, proves
As weak and powerless, as Dodona’s doves,
When the fierce hungry eagle first they spy,
Full on their heads impetuous dart from high.”

Who would hesitate in deciding which are more profitable, the works of St. Jerom, or the riches of Cræsus? But where now shine the gold and silver of Cræsus? whilst the world is instructed by the example and enlightened by the learning of the poor Cænobite. Yet even he, through envy, suffered stripes and contumely at Rome, although his character was so illustrious; and at length being driven beyond the seas, found a refuge for his studies in the solitude of Bethlehem. Thus it appears, that gold and arms may support us in this life, but avail nothing after death; and that letters through envy profit nothing in this world, but, like a testament, acquire an immortal value from the seal of death.

According to the poet,

“ Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit ;
Cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honor.”

And also

“ Denique si quis adhuc prætendit nubila, livor
Occidet, et meriti post me referentur honores.”

Those who by artifice endeavour to acquire or preserve the reputation of abilities or ingenuity, while they abound in the words of others, have little cause to boast of their own inventions. For the composers of that polished language, in which such various cases

as occur in the great body of law, are treated with such an appropriate elegance of style, must ever stand forward in the first ranks of praise. I should indeed have said, that the authors of refined language, not the hearers only; the inventors, not the reciters, are most worthy of commendation. You will find, however, that the practices of the court and of the schools are extremely similar; as well in the subtleties they employ to lead you forward, as in the steadiness with which they generally maintain their own positions. Yet it is certain that the knowledge of logic (the *acumen*, if I may so express it, of all other sciences as well as arts) is very useful, when restricted within proper bounds; whilst the court (i. e. courtly language), excepting to sycophants or ambitious men, is by no means necessary. For if you are successful at court, ambition never wholly quits its hold till satiated, and allures and draws you still closer; but if your labour is thrown away, you still continue the pursuit, and, together with your substance, lose your time, the greatest and most irretrievable of all losses. There is likewise some resemblance between the court and the dice-box, as the poet observes:

“ Sic ne perdiderit non cessat perdere lusor,
Dum revocat cupidas alea blanda manus.”

which, by substituting the word *curia* for *alea*, may be applied to the court. This further proof of their resemblance may be added; that as the chances of the dice and court are not productive of any real delight, so they are equally distributed to the worthy and the unworthy.

Since therefore among so many species of men, each follows his

own inclination, and each is actuated by different desires, a regard for posterity has induced me to choose the study of composition; and, as this life is temporary and mutable, it is grateful to live in the memory of future ages, and to be immortalized by fame; for to toil after that which produces envy in life, but glory after death, is a sure indication of an elevated mind. Poets and authors indeed aspire after immortality, but do not reject any present advantages that may offer.

I formerly completed with vain and fruitless labour the *Topography of Ireland* for King Henry the Second, and its accessory the *Prophetic History*, for Richard of Poictou his son, and I wish I were not compelled to add, his successor in vice; princes little skilled in letters, and much engaged in business. To you, illustrious Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, equally commendable for your learning and religion, I now dedicate the account of our meritorious journey through the rugged provinces of Cambria, written in a scholastic style, and divided into two parts. For as virtue loves itself, and detests what is contrary to it, so I hope you will consider whatever I may have written in commendation of your late venerable and eminent predecessor, with no less affection than if it related to yourself. To you also, when completed, I destine my treatise on the *Instruction of Princes*, if, amidst your religious and worldly occupations, you can find leisure for the perusal of it. For I purpose to submit these and other fruits of my diligence to be tasted by you at your discretion, each in its proper order; hoping that, if my larger undertakings do not excite your interest, my smaller works may at least merit your approbation, conciliate your favour, and call forth my gratitude towards

you; who, unmindful of worldly affections, do not partially distribute your bounties to your family and friends, but to letters and merit; you, who, in the midst of such great and unceasing contests between the crown and the priesthood, stand forth almost singly the firm and faithful friend of the British church; you, who, almost the only one duly elected, fulfil the scriptural designation of the episcopal character. It is not, however, by bearing a cap, by placing a cushion, by shielding off the rain, or by wiping the dust,^b even if there should be none, in the midst of a herd of flatterers, that I attempt to conciliate your favour, but by my writings. To you, therefore, rare, noble, and illustrious man, on whom nature and art have showered down whatever becomes your supereminent situation, I dedicate my works; but if I fail in this mode of conciliating your favour, and if your prayers and avocations should not allow you sufficient time to read them, I shall consider the honour of letters as vanished, and in hope of its revival I shall inscribe my writings to posterity.

^b Giraldus, whose knowledge of all the classical authors I have before had occasion to mention, has evidently adopted this expression from Ovid, who, in his *Ars Amandi*, says,

“ — — — — in gremium *pulvis* si forte puellæ
Deciderit, digitis excutiendus erit.
Et, si *nullus* erit *pulvis*, tamen excute *nullum*.”

S E C O N D P R E F A C E.

TO THE SAME PRELATE.

SINCE those things, which are known to have been done through a laudable devotion, are not unworthily extolled with due praises; and since the mind, when relaxed, loses its energy, and the torpor of sloth enervates the understanding, as iron acquires rust for want of use, and stagnant waters become foul; lest my pen should be injured by the rust of idleness, I have thought good to commit to writing the devout visitation which Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury made throughout Wales; and to hand down, as it were in a mirror, through you, O illustrious Stephen, to posterity, the difficult places through which we passed, the names of springs and torrents, the witty sayings, the toils and incidents of the journey, the memorable events of ancient and modern times, and the natural history and description of the country; lest my study should perish through idleness, or the praise of these things be lost by silence.

ITINERARY

THROUGH

W A L E S.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

JOURNEY THROUGH HEREFORD AND RADNOR.

IN the year 1188 from the incarnation of our Lord, Urban the Third being the head of the Apostolic see; Frederick Emperor of Germany and King of the Romans; Isaac Emperor of Constantinople; Philip the son of Lewis reigning in France; Henry the Second in England; William in Sicily; Bela in Hungary; and Guy in Palestine: in that very year, when Saladin Prince of the Ægyptians and Damascenes, by a signal victory got possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem; Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, a venerable man, distinguished for his learning and sanctity, journeying from England for the

service of the holy cross, entered Wales near the borders of Herefordshire.

The Archbishop proceeded to Radnor,¹ about the beginning of a fast, accompanied by Ranulphus Glanville, privy counsellor and justiciary of the whole kingdom, and there met Rhys, son of Gruffydh Prince of South Wales, and many other noble personages of those parts; where a sermon being preached by the Archbishop, upon the subject of the Crusades, and explained to the Welsh by an interpreter, the Author² of this Itinerary, impelled by the urgent importunity and promises of the King, and the persuasions of the Archbishop and the justiciary, arose the first, and falling down at the feet of the holy man, devoutly took the sign of the cross. His example was instantly followed by Peter Bishop of Saint David's, a monk of the abbey of Clugny, and then by Eineon, son of Eineon Clyd Prince of Elven, and many other persons. Eineon rising up, said to Rhys, whose daughter he had married, "My father and lord! with your permission I hasten to revenge the injury offered to the great Father of all." Rhys himself was so fully determined upon the holy peregrination, as soon as the Archbishop should enter his territories on his return, that for nearly fifteen days he was employed with great solicitude in making the necessary preparations for so distant a journey; till his wife, and according to the common vicious license of the country, his relation in the fourth degree, Gwenlhian, daughter of Madoc Prince of Powys, by female artifices diverted him wholly from his noble purpose; since, as Solomon says, "A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps." As Rhys before

¹ New Radnor.

² Giraldus de Barri, better known by the title of Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis.

his departure was conversing with his friends concerning the things he had heard, a distinguished young man of his family, by name Gruffydh, and who afterwards took the cross, is said thus to have answered : “ What man of spirit can refuse to undertake this journey, since amongst all imaginable inconveniences, nothing worse can happen to any one than to return.”

On the arrival of Rhys in his own territory, certain Canons of Saint David's, through a zeal for their church, having previously secured the interest of some of the Prince's courtiers, waited on Rhys, and endeavoured by every possible suggestion to induce him not to permit the Archbishop to proceed into the interior parts of Wales, and particularly to the metropolitan see of Saint David's (a thing hitherto unheard of), at the same time asserting that if he should continue his intended journey, the church would in future experience great prejudice, and with difficulty would recover its ancient dignity and honour. Although these pleas were most strenuously urged, the natural kindness and civility of the Prince would not suffer them to prevail, lest by prohibiting the Archbishop's progress he might appear to wound his feelings.

Early on the following morning, after the celebration of mass, and the return of Ranulph Glanville to England, we came to Cruker castle,³ two miles distant from Radnor,⁴ where a strong and valiant youth named Hector, conversing with the Archbishop about taking the cross, said, “ If I had the means of getting provisions for one day, and of keeping fast on the next, I would comply with your advice;” on the following day, however, he took the cross. The same evening, Malgo, son of Cadwallon Prince of Melenia, after a

³ Old Radnor.

⁴ New Radnor.

short but efficacious exhortation from the Archbishop, and not without the tears and lamentations of his friends, was marked with the sign of the cross.

But here it is proper to mention what happened during the reign of King Henry the First to the lord of the castle of Radnor, in the adjoining territory of Buelt, who had entered the church of Saint Avan (which is called in the British language Lhan Avan), and without sufficient caution or reverence, had passed the night there with his hounds. Arising early in the morning, according to the custom of hunters, he found his hounds mad, and himself struck blind. After a long, dark, and tedious existence, he was conveyed to Jerusalem, happily taking care that his inward sight should not in a similar manner be extinguished; and there being accoutred, and led to the field of battle on horseback, he made a spirited attack upon the enemies of the faith, and being mortally wounded, closed his life with honour.

Another circumstance which happened in these our days, in the province of Warthrenion, distant from hence only a few furlongs, is not unworthy of notice. Eineon, lord of that district, and son-in-law to Prince Rhys, who was much addicted to the chase, having on a certain day forced the wild beasts from their coverts, one of his attendants killed a hind with an arrow, as she was springing forth from the wood, which, contrary to the nature of her sex, was found to bear horns of twelve years growth, and was much fatter than a stag, in the haunches, as well as in every other part. On account of the singularity of this circumstance, the head and horns of this strange animal were destined as a present to King Henry the Second. This event is the more remarkable, as the man who shot the hind

suddenly lost the use of his right eye, and being at the same time seized with a paralytic complaint, remained in a weak and impotent state until the time of his death.

In this same province of Warthrenion, and in the church of Saint Germanus, there is a staff of Saint Cyric, covered on all sides with gold and silver, and resembling in its upper part the form of a cross; its efficacy has been proved in many cases, but particularly in the removal of glandular and strumous swellings; insomuch that all persons afflicted with these complaints, on a devout application to the staff, with the oblation of one penny, are restored to health. But it happened in these our days, that a strumous patient on presenting one halfpenny to the staff, the humour subsided only in the middle; but when the oblation was completed by the other halfpenny, an entire cure was accomplished. Another person also coming to the staff with the promise of a penny, was cured; but not fulfilling his engagement on the day appointed, he relapsed into his former disorder; in order however to obtain pardon for his offence, he tripled the offering by presenting three-pence, and thus obtained a complete cure.

At Elevein, in the church of Glascum,⁵ is a portable bell, endowed with great virtues, called Bangu, and said to have belonged to Saint David. A certain woman secretly conveyed this bell to her husband (who was confined in the castle of Raidergwy near Warthrenion, which Rhys, son of Gruffydh, had lately built) for the purpose of his deliverance. The keepers of the castle not only refused to liberate him for this consideration, but seized and detained the bell; and in

⁵ Glascum is a small village in a mountainous and retired situation between Buelt in Brecknockshire, and Kington in Herefordshire.

the same night, by divine vengeance, the whole town, except the wall in which the bell hung, was consumed by fire.

The church also of Luel,⁶ in the neighbourhood of Brecheinoc, was burned by the enemy, and every thing destroyed, except one small box, in which the consecrated host had been deposited.

It came to pass also in the province of Elvenia, which is separated from Hay by the river Wye, on the night in which Henry the First expired, that two pools⁷ of no small extent, the one natural, the other artificial, suddenly burst their bounds; the latter, by its precipitate course down the declivities, emptied itself; but the former, with its fish and contents, obtained a permanent situation in a valley about two miles distant.

In Normandy, a few days before the death of Henry the Second, the fish of a certain pool near Sees, five miles from the castle of Exme, fought during the night so furiously with each other, both in the water and out of it, that the neighbouring people were attracted by the noise to the spot; and so desperate was the conflict, that scarcely a fish was found alive in the morning: thus, by a wonderful and unheard of prognostic, foretelling the death of one by that of many.

But the borders of Wales sufficiently remember and abhor the

⁶ Luel or Llywell is a small village about a mile from Trecastle, on the great road leading from thence to Llandovery; it was anciently a township, and by charter of King Philip and Queen Mary was attached to the borough of Brecknock, by the name of Trecastle ward.

⁷ Leland, in his description of this part of Wales, mentions a lake in Low Elvel, or Elvenia, which may perhaps be the same as that alluded to in this passage of Giraldus. "There is a Llinne in Low Elvel within a mile of Payne's castel by the chirch called Lanpeder. The Llinne is caullid Bougklline, and is of no great quantite, but is plentiful of pike, and perche, and eles." Leland. Itin. Tom. V. p. 72.

great and enormous excesses which, from ambitious usurpation of territory, have arisen amongst brothers and relations in the districts of Melenyth, Elvein, and Warthrenion, situated between the Wye and the Severn.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER I.

IN enumerating the list of reigning princes, Giraldus has committed a great chronological error in placing Pope Urban the Third at the head of the apostolic see; for he died at Ferrara in the month of October, A. D. 1187,* and was succeeded by Gregory VIII. whose short reign expired in the month of December following. Clement the Third was the ruling pontiff in the year 1188.

Frederick the First, surnamed Barbarossa, from the red colour of his hair, was born A. D. 1121. He succeeded Conrad the Third in the empire of Germany, was elected at Francfort in March, 1152; and crowned at Aix la Chapelle in the same month. He espoused the holy cause of the Crusade, and was attended by his son Frederick Duke of Suabia, and a large retinue of his subjects and nobility. The Emperor was drowned in a river of Cilicia whilst bathing, A. D. 1190; and his son succeeding to the command of the army, fell before Acre in the year 1191.

* * The portrait and tomb of this Pope are engraven in Papebrochi's Chronology of the Roman Pontiffs.

Isaac Angelus succeeded Andronicus the First, as Emperor of Constantinople, A. D. 1185, and was dethroned A. D. 1195.^b

Philip the Second, surnamed Augustus, from his having been born in the month of August, was son of Louis le Jeune; he was crowned first at Reims, A. D. 1179, and afterwards at Saint Denis, A. D. 1180. He also undertook the crusading expedition, but owing to his wars with Henry the Second King of England, and his son Richard, arrived at Acre but a short time before its surrender, after a close siege of two years. He died at Mantes, A. D. 1223, and was buried in the abbey of Saint Denis.

William the Second, King of Sicily, surnamed the Good, succeeded A. D. 1166, to his father, William the Bad: he was crowned at the age of twelve years, and died A. D. 1189.^c

Bela the Third, King of Hungary, succeeded, A. D. 1174, to Stephen the Third, and died A. D. 1196.

Guy de Lusignan succeeded to Baldwin the Fifth, and was crowned King of Jerusalem, A. D. 1186. His reign was of short duration, for in the following year his city was taken by the victorious Saladin.

Before I relate the particulars of this Crusade, which engaged the attention of so many powerful princes, it will be necessary to refer back to that period when the first military expedition of this kind was undertaken.

^b The life and character of this debauched prince are finely delineated by the historian Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 130.

^c "Ce prince étoit la sureté de ses alliés, la terreur de ses ennemis, le soutien de ses peuples, le refuge des pauvres et des misérables; sous son règne, les lois et la justice étoient en vigueur, chacun vivoit content de son sort, partout regnoient la paix et la tranquillité." *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, Tom. II. p. 813.

A. D. 1096—Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, may be said to have been the chief instigator of the first crusade. Seized with the prevailing devotion of the times, he had visited, as a pilgrim, the holy places at Jerusalem, and been an eye-witness of the miseries which the Christians experienced from the Infidels, who had made themselves masters of a great proportion of the Eastern empire. “When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour.”* The zeal of the hermit was warmly seconded by Pope Urban the Second, in the councils of Placentia and Clermont, A. D. 1095; and the religious infatuation increased so rapidly amongst the princes of the Western empire, that in a very short time a force of nearly three hundred thousand men was collected. This first undisciplined army, composed of French, Italians, and Germans, proceeded on their journey towards the East, under the command of Peter the Hermit, Godescald a Monk, and Walter the Pennyless; and such was their irregular and atrocious conduct during the march, that the greater part of this immense army was cut to pieces by the natives of the countries through which they passed.

A second army, still more numerous, but composed of better disciplined troops, and commanded by more experienced leaders,³

* Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 3.

³ Godefroy of Bouillon, with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin: Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois; Raymond Count of Toulouse, Robert Count of Flanders, surnamed the Sword and Lance of the Christians, Stephen Count of Blois and Chartres, Robert Duke of Normandy, Bohemond, and Tancred, were conspicuous amongst the many illustrious chieftains who stood foremost in this daring and enthusiastic enterprise, and assumed the Cross for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre.

marched towards the East. The cities of Nice, Antioch, and Jerusalem were at length taken, after a very long and obstinate resistance on the part of the Mahometans, in the year 1099 ; and the brave Godefroy of Bouillon was unanimously elected King of Jerusalem.

The reign of this illustrious chieftain was of short duration, for he died A. D. 1100, and was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin the First, who was crowned King of Jerusalem in the same year. Baldwin the Second, his relation, was crowned A. D. 1118, and was succeeded A. D. 1131 by Fulk Count of Anjou, who married the daughter of the last king. Baldwin the Third, son of Fulk by a second marriage, ascended the throne A. D. 1144.

The Christians, by their conquests since the first crusade, which terminated so successfully in 1099, had formed four considerable states in the East : the country of Edessa, that of Tripoli, the principality of Antioch, and the kingdom of Jerusalem ; and if their princes had continued firmly united, they might have annihilated the power of the Mahometans in Asia ; but unfortunately divisions arose amongst them ; of which Nouredin, Sultan of Aleppo, took advantage, and despoiled the Christians of the city of Edessa. The young King of Jerusalem, and the Prince of Antioch, took the alarm, and soliciting immediate succours from the princes of the Western empire, endeavoured to engage them in a new crusade : Saint Bernard, like his predecessor the Hermit, was so strenuous in the holy cause, that Lewis the Seventh, King of France, and Conrad the Third, Emperor of Germany, together with a prodigious number of French and German nobility, enlisted themselves under the consecrated banners. This second crusade, headed by two such powerful princes, caused no less sensation in Europe than the first ; but it was

attended with far different success to the leaders of it, who, deceived by the treachery of the Greeks, and defeated by the armies of the Turks, retreated to Jerusalem with a shattered army, and loss of honour.

That city still continued under the dominion of the Christian princes: Baldwin the Third died A. D. 1162, and was succeeded by his brother Amauri in the same year. He left the crown to his son, who took the name of Baldwin the Fourth, and was crowned A. D. 1173. Baldwin the Fifth, his nephew, succeeded to the kingdom A. D. 1185; and leaving no issue, his sister Sibyll caused her husband, Guy de Lusignan, to be proclaimed King of Jerusalem. The tranquillity of his reign was disturbed by Saladin, who, after the death of Nouredin, had assumed the title of Sultan of Egypt, and had for many years been engaged in continual warfare with the Franks. In the year 1187 he made himself master of the greater part of their possessions in Syria, and of the city of Jerusalem. Pope Urban the Third at this time presided over the apostolic see; and is said to have died of grief occasioned by this distressful event. He was succeeded by Pope Gregory the Eighth, who deeply affected by the loss of Jerusalem, and the great advantages the Saracens had lately gained over the Christians in the East, wrote a long and pathetic letter to the Christians in the West, giving them an account of the taking of the holy city, and earnestly exhorting them to contribute their utmost towards the relief of their distressed brethren, and the recovery of the holy Sepulchre and Cross. In another letter he enjoined a five years fast to be observed most strictly; the cardinals engaged to take the cross first, to go the first to the Holy Land in the habit of mendicant pilgrims, to receive no presents from such

as had any business to transact at the Pope's court, and never to mount on horseback, but to travel on foot, so long as the ground on which our Saviour had trod was under the feet of the Infidels.

Clement, his successor, left nothing unattempted to engage all the Christian princes in a new crusade. The inhabitants of Pisa, animated by the exhortations of the Pope, and their own archbishop, Ubald, to whom Clement had intrusted the standard of Saint Peter, concluded a truce with the Genoese, and having equipped a fleet of fifty ships of war, sent it to the relief of their distressed brethren in the Holy Land. On his return to Rome he dispatched Cardinal Henry, Bishop of Albano, into France, to promote the crusade in that kingdom, which he did with great success. From France he repaired to Germany, where from his hands the Emperor took the cross: his example was followed by his son, Frederick Duke of Suabia, and by many of the princes and nobles of the empire. The same enthusiastic spirit prevailed in other parts of Europe; Philip King of France, and Henry the Second, King of England, then at variance, were prevailed upon by John of Anagni, Cardinal Legate, to forbear all hostilities for the present, and unite their forces against the common enemy. Both princes took the cross, and heavy taxes were imposed on their kingdoms to defray the expenses of the intended expedition. In England, a tenth was exacted of all revenues, moveables, and chattels; and levied with the greatest rigour upon the clergy as well as laity, those only excepted who went in person to the Holy Land.

King Henry the Second did not live to fulfil his vow; but his son, King Richard, was equally strenuous in the holy cause. In the year 1190, Philip Augustus King of France, and Richard King of England,

departed for the Holy Land, at the head of two numerous armies; the one embarked at Genoa, the other at Marseilles; they met at Messina in Sicily, where, on account of the advanced state of the season, they passed the winter. In the spring of the following year they arrived at Acre, then besieged by Guy de Lusignan, which at length, after repeated attacks, surrendered to the Christian arms. The spirit of jealousy and animosity which broke out amongst the different princes of this confederacy, added to the loss of the Emperor Frederick, and his son the Duke of Suabia, induced the Christian princes to conclude a truce with Saladin. Philip returned to France about Christmas, but Richard continued a year longer in Palestine. In the month of October 1192, he embarked for England, but was unfortunately shipwrecked in the Adriatic: being under the necessity of passing through the dominions of Leopold Duke of Austria, with whom he had had some disagreement at Acre,⁴ he travelled under the disguise of a pilgrim; but was discovered, and arrested by that prince's order, and after a close confinement for some time, delivered up to the emperor. This unhappy prince was in the end obliged to purchase his liberty by the exorbitant sum of 150,000 marks of silver; nor was he released from his captivity until two-

⁴ The cause of this disagreement between Leopold Duke of Austria and King Richard, is thus related by the historian Hollinshed. "The Duke of Austrich owght the king no good will, bicause he had cast downe his ensignes pitcht up in a turret at Acres, which he had wone at the verie time when that citie was delivered by the Saracens; for while they were in tretie on the one side, the duke on the other, not knowing anie thing thereof, gave the assault unto that part of the towne which was appointed unto him to besiege, and so being entred the towne, and perceiving that by treatie it was to be delivered, he retired into the turret which he had at first wone and entred, and there set up his standard and ensignes, which King Richard, comming thither, threw downe and trode under his feet." *Toin. II. p. 136.*

thirds of that sum were paid, and hostages given for the security of the remainder.

A. D. 1193—In this year the victorious Saladin breathed his last ; his conduct had been strongly marked with humanity both towards the Mussulmen and the Christians ; whilst that of the latter people, and particularly that of their sovereign Richard, was stained with many acts of cruelty and barbarity. The sensation caused by his death is thus related by a French historian : “ Sa mort causa un deuil universel dans ses états. Il les avoit acquis aux dépens de la reconnoissance, de la justice, et de l’humanité, il les conserva par sa valeur, et son habilité ; et les gouverna avec toute la prudence, la sagesse, et l’équité qu’on pouvoit desirer. Pendant sa dernière maladie, il fit porter dans les rues le linceuil qui devoit l’ensevelir, avec ordre à celui qui tenoit cet étendard de la mort, de crier ‘ Voilà tout ce que Saladin, Vainqueur de l’Orient, remporte de ses conquêtes.’ ”

A. D. 1246—A new crusade was preached through France, in which Lewis the Ninth, his three brothers, and a long list of nobility and prelates enlisted themselves. After tedious and expensive preparations for this intended expedition, the king and his suite set out in the year 1248, and landed in the island of Cyprus : his army was reinforced by William Earl of Salisbury, surnamed Long Sword, at the head of two hundred chosen English knights : the operations of this immense army were directed against the Sultan of Egypt ; and auspiciously commenced by the taking of the strong city of Damietta on the river Nile ; but fortune, which thus at first favoured the Christian army, soon deserted their cause, and left them exposed to the power and hard conditions of the Infidels. Robert Count of

Artois, brother to the king, with three hundred French knights, fell in the action at Massoura; and the English had to regret the loss of the Earl of Salisbury, and their standard-bearer, Robert de Vere. At length the king embarked at the port of Acre in the month of April, 1254, and in September arrived safe at Vincennes, after an absence of six years.

This enthusiastic fever broke out again in the year 1266, under the reign of the same pious king. Bondocdar, the brave and illustrious chief of the Mamalukes, who had been the principal engine of destruction to the army of the last crusade, had surprised the city of Cæsarea, and threatened to exterminate the Christians in the East. Aroused by this fatal intelligence, the King again took the cross, and accompanied by his three sons, and a large retinue of his nobility and knights, set sail from Aigues Mortes in the month of July, 1270. His first attack was against the city of Tunis in Africa, which, together with Carthage, he took; but disease soon stopped the progress of his victorious arms. A malignant fever, occasioned by the excessive heat of the climate, deprived him of his two sons, Philip and John, and the King himself shortly afterwards fell a victim to the same disorder.

Thus ended this last and seventh crusade. The Christian princes at length awakened from their lethargy, and by fatal experience, saw the inefficacy of their arms, and absurdity of these expensive, distant, and fanatic expeditions. Historians, who have written on this subject, view them in the same ridiculous and impolitic light. “The enthusiasm of the first crusade, is a natural and simple event, while hope was fresh, danger untried, and enterprise congenial to the spirit of the times. But the obstinate perseverance of Europe may indeed

excite our pity and admiration; that no instruction should have been drawn from constant and adverse experience: that the same confidence should have repeatedly grown from the same failures; that six succeeding generations should have rushed headlong down the precipice that was open before them: and that men of every condition should have staked their public and private fortunes on the desperate adventure of possessing or recovering a tomb-stone two thousand miles from their country."*

I have thought proper to enter fully into the history of the crusades, as they all bear a relative connexion with each other; and more particularly as to one of them we owe this Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin.

Two reasons have been assigned for this expedition of Archbishop Baldwin into Wales: first, that by celebrating mass in the different cathedrals, he might thereby set aside the metropolitan right of the see of Saint David's, and assert that of his own church of Canterbury: second, that by personal exhortations and discourses, he might induce the natives of the remote and mountainous regions of Wales to enlist under the consecrated banners of the cross: this was at least the specious and avowed motive given by the Archbishop and his attendants.

Ranulph de Glanvill was descended from a baron of the same name in the time of William the Conqueror. In the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Second, he was one of the Justices Itinerant, and in the ensuing year was advanced to the high office of Chief Justice of England. In the first year of King Richard's reign he was displaced, and Hugh de Pudsey Bishop of Durham was

* Gibbon. Rom. Hist. Vol. VI. p. 82.

appointed his successor.^a In 1188 he escorted Archbishop Baldwin as far as Radnor, and then returned to England. In 1191 he accompanied King Richard the First on his expedition to the Holy Land, and there, in the same year, departed this life. We must not confound this personage with one of the same name, who flourished some few years afterwards in the reign of King Henry the Third, and who wrote a learned treatise on the laws of England.

Rhys ap Gruffydh, commonly called the Lord Rhys, was grandson to the celebrated but unfortunate Rhys ap Theodor Prince of South Wales, who, in the year 1090, was slain in an engagement with the Norman knight, Robert Fitzhamon, in the neighbourhood of Brecknock. He was a Prince of great talent, but great versatility of character, and made a conspicuous figure in the annals of British history; sometimes the friend, but most frequently the determined enemy of the English monarch. He died A. D. 1196, and was buried in the cathedral church of Saint David's; where his effigy, as well as that of his son Rhys Gryg, still remain in a good state of preservation. An engraving of the portrait of Rhys ap Gruffydh, is annexed to the second volume of this Itinerary.

Peter de Leia, Prior of the Benedictine monastery of Wenlock in Shropshire, was the successful rival of Giraldus for the bishopric of Saint David's, vacant by the death of David Fitz-Gerald, the uncle of our author; but he did not obtain his promotion without considerable opposition from the canons of that church, who submitted to the absolute sequestration of their property, before they

^a Eodem tempore Rex Ricardus deposuit a balivis suis Ranulphum de Glanvilla Justiciarium.—Matthew Paris, p. 154. An account of his pedigree and progeny may be found in Dugdale's Monasticon, Tom. II. p. 246.

consented to his election, being desirous that the nephew should have succeeded his uncle. He was consecrated at Canterbury by Gilbert Bishop of London, A. D. 1176, and died A. D. 1199. He proved a great benefactor to the see, having rebuilt the cathedral church, which had been frequently injured by the incursions of the Danes and other pirates.

Cruker Castle.—The corresponding distance between Old and New Radnor evidently places this castle at Old Radnor, which was anciently called Pencraig, or Pen-crûg, from its situation on a rocky eminence. Cruker is a corruption, probably, from Crûg-caerau, the mount, or height of the fortifications. Old Radnor consists of a few scattered habitations, and a well built church, containing some handsome modern monuments to the memory of the Lewis family of Harpton, and a curious screen richly carved in wood, which, contrary to the usual mode of architecture, extends across the nave, and two side aisles.

Buelt, or Builth.—A large market town on the southern banks of the river Wye, over which there is a long and handsome bridge of stone. It had formerly a strong castle, the site and earthen works of which still remain, but the building is destroyed. Of the period of its construction I can gain no positive information. In the year 1260, it appears to have been held by Roger Mortimer, and taken by the Welsh.^b “The yeare 1260, Prince Lhewelyn destroyed the lands of Sir Roger Mortimer, bicause he contrarie to his oth mainteined the King’s quarell, and tooke from him all Buelht, saving the castell,

^b Hoc anno (1260) Wallenses, treugas disrumpentes, terras Baronum Marchiæ devastaverunt, et castellum de Buelht dolosè ceperunt, et ad terram prostraverunt. Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 245.

which the Princes men gatte by night without bloodshed, and therein much munition.” From Leland we learn that in his time, the castle belonged to the Crown.^c Near this place Lhwelyn, the last unfortunate Prince of Wales, lost his life. The natives still retain the tradition of his murder, and shew a narrow dingle called Cwm Lhwelyn, in which they say he was taken.^d

The parish church contains the mutilated effigy of a knight in armour: the brass plate, bearing the following inscription, has been removed into the town:

“ HERE LIETH JOHN LLOID OF TOWY SQUER TO THE BODYE & SERVANTE TO O’ SOFVERAIGNE QUEENE ELIZABETHE WHO SERVED HERR MA^{ti} FATHER BOTH AT MUTRELL & AT GREAT BULLEN WHE’ HITT WAS GOTTEN & ALSO IN SCOTLAND: THIS MAN WAS STEWARD OF THIS MAN’ UNDER THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE ERLE OF ESSEX TRANSPORTED OUT OF IRELAND INTO CARMthEN: ALSO THE FIRST SHERIF & FIRST JUSTICE OF THE PEACE THAT EVER DWELTE IN THIS LORDSHIP AFTER THE DIVISION OF WALES INTO SHERGROUND, WHOSE FATHER THOMAS LLOID HAD BIN SO’ LIFTENANT OF THIS COUNTIE 40 YEERES TOGETHER NEXT AFTER THE AR^{iv}ALL OF THAT MOST FAMOUS PRINCE HENRY THE SEVENTH & JASP: HIS UNCLE AT MILFURDE: THIS MAN DEPTED THIS LIËF THE FIRST DAY OF MARCH ANNO Dⁿⁱ 1585.

Lhan Avan—A small church, situated at the foot of some barren

^c Buelth apon Wy is a good market town, and ther is a fair castel of the Kinges. Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 72.

^d Inde Princeps versùs terram de Buelth se destinavit cum paucis. Cui cum suâ militiâ supervenientes nobiles viri Johannes Giffard, Edmundus de Mortuo mari, de Wallensibus nihil suspicantes congressi sunt cum eis. Ibi enim occisus est Lewellinus circà festum S. Lucie cum omnibus suis, nec unus evasit: caput Lewellini amputatum est, et Domino Regi apud Ruthelan transmissum, Rex vero illud misit Londinum, et ad turrin super palum poni fecit.—Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 247.

mountains about five or six miles N. W. of Buelt. On a stone in its churchyard is a very ancient inscription in old characters: HIC IACET. SANCTVS AVANVS EPISCOPVS. This Saint was one of the sons of Cedig ab Cunedda; his ancestor, Cunedda King of the Britons, was the head of one of the three holy families of Britain, so called from being the founders of many of the first churches. He lived in the beginning of the sixth century.

The church of Saint Germanus is now known by the name of Saint Harmans, and is situated three or four miles from Rhayader in Radnorshire, on the right-hand of the road from thence to Llanidloes; it is a small and simple structure, placed on a little eminence, in a dreary plain surrounded by mountains. The Saint to whom this church is dedicated, was a native of the city of Auxerre in France, and descended from illustrious parents. In the year 429, Germanus Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus Bishop of Troyes, were nominated by a synod held in Gaul, as fit persons to pass over into Britain to oppose the progress of the Pelagian heresy. Their first public dispute with the Pelagians was held at Verulam, an ancient city near Saint Alban's, in the county of Hertford. Germanus assumed afterwards a military character, and headed an army of Britons against their inveterate foes, the Picts and Saxons; on whose approach he ordered his whole army to cry aloud Allelujah! which word was so re-echoed by the rocks and mountains, that the enemy, seized with a general panic, betook themselves to flight. This victory is supposed to have taken place near the town of Mold in Flintshire, where a large field still retains the name of Maes-garmon.*

* A celebrated author (Mr. Whitaker) in his late publication on the ancient Cathedral of Cornwall, gives a long detail of the life of Saint Germanus; and treats this battle and victory, as "an idiot's tale."

Germanus, attended by Severus Bishop of Treves, made a second journey into Britain for the same purpose of opposing the doctrines of the Pelagians, and resided for some at Oxford. Besides this little church, there are others both in Wales and England, which bear the name of the Saint.

Staff of Saint Cyric.—Several churches in Wales have been dedicated to Saint Curig, who was a stranger, celebrated for his learning and holy life, and came into Wales in the seventh century. We are informed by a letter published in the *Cambrian Register*, 1796, page 491, that this Saint was a foreigner, who, having landed at Aberystwith, rested upon the top of a high mountain, which still bears the name of *Eisteddfa Guric*, or Curig's Seat, from whence, looking around him, he perceived a fertile valley, in the retirement of which he determined to build a church. Mr. Morris then quotes some Welsh verses from a bard of the fifteenth century (*Lewis Glyncothi*), in which the impositions of the mendicant friars upon the peasantry, selling them little images of saints as charms, and receiving in return, cheese, bacon, wool, corn, &c., are humourously exposed:

“ Un o honynt a ddygai
 “ Gurig lwyd dan gwr ei glôg ;
 “ Gwas arall a ddug Seirioel
 “ A naw o gaws, yn ei goel.”

“ One of them did convey the blessed Curig under the skirt of his cloak, another youth conveyed Seirioel, and nine cheeses in his bosom.”

Thus it appears that not only the miraculous staff, but even the Saint himself, was held in requisition to furnish provisions for the convent.

Bangu.—This was a hand bell kept in all the Welsh churches during the times of popery, which the clerk or sexton took to the house of the deceased on the day of the funeral: when the procession began, a psalm was sung; the bellman then sounded his bell in a solemn manner for some time, till another psalm was concluded; and he again sounded it at intervals, till the funeral arrived at the church. The bangu was at this period deemed sacred, which accounts for the superstitious attributes given it by Giraldus. This ancient custom prevailed till lately at Caerleon; a bell of the same kind being carried about the streets, and sounded just before the interment of a corpse; and some old people now living remember this ceremony to have prevailed in many other places

Castle of Raidergwy.—Rhaiader is a small village and market-town in Radnorshire. The site only of the castle, built by Prince Rhys, A. D. 1178, now remains at a short distance from the village; it was strongly situated on a natural rock above the river Wye, which, below the bridge, forms a cataract (see plate No. I). There are several ancient tumuli in the vicinity of the castle. Powel, in his *Welsh Chronicle*, speaking of this fortress says, “ at this time (A. D. 1178), the Lord Rees did build the castell of Rayder Gwy, that is to saie, the fall of Wye; for the river Wye falleth there over a great and a high rocke.”

In the interval between the years 1178 and 1194, this castle seems to have been destroyed, for the same chronicle informs us that in the latter year, “ Rees himselfe did reedifie againe the castell of

Rayader Gwy; which the sons of Cadwallon ap Madoc of Melyenyth shortly wan, and fortified for themselves."

Melenia, Warthrenion, Elevein, Elvenia, Melenyth, and Elvein.— These places mentioned in this first chapter, and varying in their orthography, seem to relate to three different districts in Radnorshire: Melenyth is a hundred in the northern part of the county, extending into Montgomeryshire, in which is the church of Keri: Elvein retains in modern days the name of Elvel, and is a hundred in the southern part of the county, separated from Brecknockshire by the river Wye: and Warthrenion, in which was the castle built by Prince Rhys at Raidergwy, seems to have been situated between the other two. Warthrenion may more properly be called Gwrthryinion; it was anciently one of the three comots of Arwystli, a cantref of Merioneth, though since by Stat. 27 Henry VIII. attached to the then newly erected counties of Radnor and Montgomery: Gwrthryinion is in the former county, and derives its name, according to the British historian Nennius,^f from a supposed allotment of this district to Saint Germanus by King Vortimer, as a reproach to his father Vortigern, for having calumniated the holy prelate, quasi, Gwarth uniawn, the just reproach; but this derivation is very justly treated by Archbishop Usher, as fabulous. We may perhaps with

^f Iste Guorthimir filius Guorthigerni in synodo habita apud Guartherniaun, postquam nefandus rex, ob incestum quem cum filiâ commiserat, à facie Germani et clericorum Britanniae in fugam iret, patris nequitiae consentire noluit; sed rediens ad Sanctum Germanum, ad pedes ejus cecidit veniam postulans, atque pro illatâ à patre suo et sorore Sancto Germano calumniâ, terram ipsam in quâ prædictus episcopus opprobrium tale sustinuit, in æternum suam fieri sanxivit. Unde et in memoriam Sancti Germani Guarenniaun nomen accepit, quod Latinè sonat, calumnia justè retorta; quoniam cum episcopum vituperare putaverat, semet ipsum vituperio affecit. Nennius Hist. Brit. p. 127.

greater probability look to local circumstances for an etymology. The cantref of Arwystli, as before observed, was divided into three comots, i. e. Cwmmwd uwchcoed, the comot above the wood: Cwmmwd iscoed, the comot below the wood: and Cwmmwd gwrthry-nion, from gwrth, a very common prefix in Welsh composition, implying against, opposite, by, or close to, and rhynion the plural of rhyn, a mountain, hill, or promontory, signifying that it was the mountainous district of the cantref.

Maelienydd and Elvel, according to the ancient division of Wales by Roderic the Great, were cantrefs of that part of Powys, or Mauthraval, which lay between the rivers Wye and Severn; but by Stat. 27 Henry VIII. were made part of Radnorshire.

In the year 1174 Melyenith was in the possession of Cadwallon ap Madawc, cousin german to Prince Rhys: Elvel was held by Eineon Clyd, and Gwyrthrynion by Eineon ap Rhys, both sons in law to the aforesaid illustrious prince, who brought them, together with all such other lords of South Wales who were at enmity with King Henry, to do him homage at Gloucester,



R A I D E R G W Y.

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CHAPTER II.

JOURNEY TO HAY AND BRECHEINOC.

HAVING crossed the river Wye, we proceeded towards Brecheinoc, and on preaching a sermon at Hay, we observed some amongst the multitude, who were to be signed with the cross (leaving their garments in the hands of their friends or wives, who endeavoured to keep them back), fly for refuge to the Archbishop in the castle. Early in the morning we began our journey to Aberhodni, and the word of the Lord being preached at Landeu, we there spent the night. The castle and chief town of the province, situated where the river Hodni joins the river Usk, is called Aberhodni; and every place where one river falls into another, is called Aber in the British tongue. Landeu signifies the church of God. The Archdeacon of that place (Giraldus) having presented to the Archbishop his work on the Topography of Ireland, he graciously received it, and either read or heard a part of it read every day during his journey; and on his return to England completed the perusal of it.

I have determined not to omit mentioning those occurrences worthy of note, which happened in these parts in our days. It came to pass before that great war, in which nearly all this province was destroyed by the sons of Jestyn,¹ that the large lake, and the river

¹ Jestyn ap Gurgant was lord of the province of Morgannwc, or Glamorgan, and a formidable rival to Rhys ap Theodor, Prince of South Wales; but unable to cope

Leveni,² which flows from it into the Wye opposite Glasbury,³ were tinged with a deep green colour. The old people of the country were consulted, and answered, that a short time before the great desolation⁴ caused by Howel, son of Meredyth, the water had been coloured in a similar manner. About the same time a chaplain, whose name was Hugo, being engaged to officiate at the chapel of Saint Nicholas in the castle of Aberhodni, saw in a dream, a venerable man standing near him, and saying, "Tell thy lord William de Breusa, who has the audacity to retain the property granted to the chapel of Saint Nicholas for charitable uses, these words: 'The public treasury takes away that which Christ does not receive; and thou wilt then give to an impious soldier, what thou wilt not give to a priest.'" This vision having been repeated three times, he went to the archdeacon of the place, at Landeu, and related to him what had happened. The archdeacon immediately knew them to be the words of Augustine; and shewing him that part of his writings where they were found, explained to him the case to which they applied. He reproaches persons who held back tithes and other

with him in power, he prevailed on Robert Fitzhamon, a Norman knight, to come over to his assistance, by whom, and his knights, this part of South Wales was afterwards completely subdued.

² This little river rises near the ruins of Blanollyn castle, which is situated between Llangors pool and the turnpike road leading from Brecknock to Abergavenny, and empties itself into the river Usk, near Glasbury.

³ A pretty little village on the southern banks of the Usk, about four miles from Hay, on the road leading to Brecknock.

⁴ The great desolation here alluded to is attributed, by Dr. Powel, to Howel and Meredyth, sons of Edwyn ap Eineon; not to Howel son of Meredith. In the year 1021, they conspired against Lhwelyn ap Sitsylht, and slew him: Meredith was slain A. D. 1033, and Howel, A. D. 1043.

ecclesiastical dues; and what he there threatens, certainly in a short time befell this withholder of them: for in our time we have duly and undoubtedly seen, that princes who have usurped ecclesiastical benefices (and particularly King Henry the Second, who laboured under this vice more than others), have profusely squandered the treasures of the church, and given away to hired soldiers, what in justice should have been given only to priests.

Yet something is to be said in favour of the aforesaid William de Breusa, although he greatly offended in this particular (since nothing human is perfect, and to have knowledge of all things, and in no point to err, is an attribute of God, not of man); for he always placed the name of the Lord before his sentences, saying "Let this be done in the name of the Lord; let that be done by God's will; if it shall please God, or if God grant leave; it shall be so by the grace of God." We learn from Saint Paul, that every thing ought thus to be committed and referred to the will of God. On taking leave of his brethren, he says, "I will return to you again, if God permit;" and Saint James uses this expression, "If the Lord will, and we live," in order to show that all things ought to be submitted to the divine disposal. The letters also which William de Breusa, as a rich and powerful man, was accustomed to send to different parts, were loaded, or rather honoured, with words expressive of the divine indulgence to a degree not only tiresome to his amanuensis, but even to his auditors; for as a reward to each of his amanuenses for concluding his letters with the words "by divine assistance," he gave annually a piece of gold, in addition to their stipend. When on a journey he saw a church or a cross, although in the midst of a discourse either with his inferiors or superiors, from an excess of devotion, he imme-

diately began to pray, and when he had finished his prayers, resumed his conversation. On meeting boys in the way, he invited them by a previous salutation to salute him, that the blessings of these innocents thus extorted might be returned to him. His wife, Mawd de Saint Valery, observed all these things: a prudent and chaste woman; a woman placed with propriety at the head of her house, equally attentive to the economical disposal of her property within doors, as to the augmentation of it without; both of whom, I hope, by their devotion obtained temporal happiness and grace, as well as the glory of eternity.

It happened also that the hand of a boy, who was endeavouring to take some young pigeons from a nest in the church of Saint David of Lhanvaes,⁵ adhered to the stone on which he leaned, through the miraculous vengeance perhaps of that saint, in favour of the birds who had taken refuge in his church; and when the boy, attended by his friends and parents, had for three successive days and nights offered up his prayers and supplications before the holy altar of the church, his hand was, on the third day, liberated by the same divine power which had so miraculously fastened it. We saw this same boy at Newbury in England, now advanced in years, presenting himself before David the Second,⁶ Bishop of Saint David's, and

⁵ A small church dedicated to Saint David, in the suburbs of Brecknock, on the great road leading from thence to Trecastle. "The paroche of Llanvays, Llan-chirch-Vais, extra, ac si diceres, extra muros. It standeth betwixt the river of Uske and Tyrtorelle brooke, that is, about the lower ende of the town of Brekenok." Leland. Itin. Tom. V. p. 69. "Tertarith, a great broke risith in the Banne Hilles a v miles from Brekenok, and cummith into Uske in Brekenok suburbe by a place caullid Trenewith. S. David chirch in the suburbe of Brekenok stood ons on this brooke, and spillid, alluvione, was remeid to an other place." Leland. Itin. Tom. V. p. 74.

⁶ David Fitzgerald was promoted from the archdeaconry of Cardigan to the see of

certifying to him the truth of this relation, because it had happened in his diocese. The stone is preserved in the church to this day among the relics, and the marks of the five fingers appear impressed on the flint.

A similar miracle happened at Saint Edmundsbury to a poor woman, who often visited the shrine of the saint, under the mask of devotion; not with the design of giving, but of taking something away, namely, the silver and gold offerings, which, by a curious kind of theft, she licked up by kissing, and carried away in her mouth. But in one of these attempts her tongue and lips adhered to the altar, when by divine interposition she was detected, and openly disgorged the secret theft. Many persons, both Jews and Christians, expressing their astonishment, flocked to the place, where for the greater part of the day she remained motionless, that no possible doubt might be entertained of the miracle.

In the north of England beyond the Humber, and in the church of Hovedene,⁷ the concubine of the rector incautiously sat down on the tomb of Saint Osana, sister of King Osred, which projected like a wooden seat; on wishing to retire, she could not be removed, until the people came to her assistance: her clothes were rent, her body was laid bare, and severely afflicted with many strokes of discipline, even till the blood flowed; nor did she regain her liberty, until by

Saint David's, and consecrated, A. D. 1147, according to Browne Willis; but Wharton fixes his consecration in the year 1149. He is called Second, to distinguish him from the patron saint. He died A. D. 1176.

⁷ Now Howden, a wapentake in the East Riding of Yorkshire: Leland says, "The colligate chirch is auncient, and meatly faire. Ther be five prebendes. In the quire lyith one John of Hovedene, one as they say of the first prebendaries there."

many tears and sincere repentance she had showed evident signs of compunction.

What miraculous power hath not in our days been displayed by the psalter of Quindreda, sister of Saint Kenelm, by whose instigation he was killed? On the vigil of the saint, when, according to custom, great multitudes of women resorted to the feast at Winchelcumbe, the under butler of that convent committed fornication with one of them, within the precincts of the monastery. This same man on the following day had the audacity to carry the psalter in the procession of the relics of the saints; and on his return to the choir, after the solemnity, the psalter stuck to his hands. Astonished and greatly confounded, and at length calling to mind his crime on the preceding day, he made confession, and underwent penance; and being assisted by the prayers of the brotherhood, and having shown signs of sincere contrition, he was at length liberated from the miraculous bond.

That book was held in great veneration, because when the body of Saint Kenelm was carried forth, and the multitude cried out, "He is the martyr of God; truly he is the martyr of God;" Quindreda, conscious and guilty of the murder of her brother, answered, "He is as truly the martyr of God, as it is true that my eyes be on that psalter;" for as she was reading the psalter, both her eyes were miraculously torn from her head, and fell on the book, where the marks of the blood yet remain.

Moreover I must not be silent concerning a collar or chain, which they call Saint Canauc's; "for it is most like to gold in weight, nature, and colour; it is in four pieces wrought round, joined together artificially, and clefted as it were in the middle, with a dog's

head, the teeth standing outward; it is esteemed by the inhabitants so powerful a relic, that no man dares swear falsely when it is laid before him: it bears the marks of some severe blows, as if made with an iron hammer; for a certain man, as it is said, endeavouring to break the collar for the sake of the gold, experienced the divine vengeance, was deprived of his eye-sight, and lingered the remainder of his days in darkness.

A similar circumstance concerning the horn of Saint Patrick (not golden indeed, but brazen, which lately was brought into these parts from Ireland) excites our admiration. The miraculous power of this relic first appeared with a terrible example in that country, through the foolish and absurd blowing of Bernard, a priest, as is set forth in our Topography of Ireland. Both the laity and clergy in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, held in such great veneration portable bells, and staves crooked at the top, and covered with gold, silver, or brass, and similar relics of the saints, that they were much more afraid of swearing falsely by them than by the gospels; because from some hidden and miraculous power, with which they are gifted, and the vengeance of the saint to whom they are particularly pleasing, their despisers and transgressors are severely punished: the most remarkable circumstance attending this horn is, that whoever places the wider end of it to his ear, will hear a sweet sound and melody united, such as ariseth from a harp gently touched.

In our days a strange occurrence happened in the same district. A wild sow, which by chance had been suckled by a bitch famous for her nose, became on growing up, so wonderfully active in the pursuit of wild animals, that in the faculty of scent she was greatly superior to dogs, who are assisted by natural instinct, as well as by

human art; an argument that man (as well as every other animal) contracts the nature of the female who nurses him. Another prodigious event came to pass nearly at the same time. A soldier whose name was Gilbert Hagerneil, after an illness of nearly three years, and the severe pains as of a woman in labour, in the presence of many people, voided a calf. A portent of some new and unusual event, or rather the punishment attendant on an atrocious crime. It appears also from the ancient and authentic records of those parts, that during the time Saint Elwith led the life of a hermit at Lhanhamelach,⁸ the mare that used to carry his provisions to him was covered by a stag, and produced an animal of wonderful speed, resembling a horse before, and a stag behind.

Bernard Newmarch was the first of the Normans, who acquired by conquest from the Welsh this province, which was divided into three cantreds.⁹ He married the daughter of Nest, daughter of Gruffydh, son of Llewelyn, who by his tyranny for a long time had oppressed Wales: his wife took her mother's name of Nest; which the English transmuted into Anne: by her he had children, one of whom, named Mahel, a distinguished soldier, was thus unjustly deprived of his paternal inheritance. His mother, in violation of the marriage contract, held an adulterous intercourse with a certain soldier; on the discovery of which, the son met the soldier returning in the night

⁸ Lhanhamelach, or Llanamllech, is a small village three miles from Brecknock, on the road to Abergavenny; its church, lately new roofed, contains an ancient female effigy of one of the Stanley family.

⁹ Brecheinioc now Brecknockshire, had three cantreds or hundreds, and eight comots.—1. Cantref Selef with the comots of Selef and Trahayern.—2. Cantref Canol, or the middle hundred, with the comots Talgarth, Ystradwy, and Brwynlys, or Eglwys Yail.—3. Cantref Mawr, or the great hundred, with the comots of Tir Raulff, Llywel, and Cerrig Howel.—Powel's Description of Wales, p. 20.

from his mother, and having inflicted on him a severe corporal punishment, and mutilated him, sent him away with great disgrace. The mother, alarmed at the confusion which this event caused, and agitated with grief, breathed nothing but revenge. She therefore went to King Henry the First, and declared with assertions more vindictive than true, and corroborated by an oath, that her son Mahel was not the son of Bernard, but of another person with whom she had been secretly connected. Henry, on account of this oath, or rather perjury, and swayed more by his inclination than by reason, gave away her eldest daughter, whom she owned as the legitimate child of Bernard, in marriage to Milo, son of Walter, Constable¹⁰ of Gloucester, with the honor of Brecheinoc as a portion; and he was afterwards created Earl of Hereford by the Empress Matilda, daughter of the said King. By this wife he had five celebrated warriors; Roger, Walter, Henry, William, and Mahel; all of whom by divine vengeance, or by fatal misfortunes, came to untimely ends; and yet each of them, except William, succeeded to the paternal inheritance, but left no issue. Thus this woman (not deviating from the nature of her sex), in order to satiate her anger and revenge, with the heavy loss of modesty, and with the disgrace of infamy, by the same act deprived her son of his patrimony, and herself of honour. Nor is it wonderful if a woman follows her innate bad disposition: for it is written in Ecclesiastes, “ I have found one good man out of a thousand, but not one woman;” and in Ecclesiasticus, “ There is no head above the head of a serpent; and there is no wrath above

¹⁰ I take this office of constable to have been the same as captain of the guard in aftertimes; for he was then called *princeps militiæ domûs regiæ*.—Dugdale Baronage, p. 536.

the wrath of a woman ;” and again, “ Small is the wickedness of man compared to the wickedness of woman.” And in the same manner, as we may gather grapes off thorns, or figs off thistles ; Tully describing the nature of women, says, “ Men perhaps for the sake of some advantage will commit one crime ; but woman to gratify one inclination, will not scruple to perpetrate all sorts of wickedness.” Thus Juvenal, speaking of women, says,

“ — — — — Nihil est audacior illis
Deprensus, iram atque animos à crimine sumunt.
— — — — Mulier sævissima tunc est
Cum stimulos animo pudor admovet.
— — — — collige, quod vindicta
Nemo magis gaudet, quam fœmina.

But of the five abovementioned brothers and sons of Earl Milo, the youngest but one, and the last in the inheritance, was the most remarkable for his inhumanity ; he persecuted David the Second, Bishop of Saint David's, to such a degree, by attacking his possessions, lands, and vassals, that he was compelled to retire as an exile from the district of Brecheinoc, into England, or to some other parts of his diocese. Meanwhile Mahel, being hospitably entertained by Walter Clifford, in the castle of Brendlais," the house was by accident burned down, and he received a mortal blow by a stone falling from

" Brendlais or Brynlllys, a small village on the road between Brecknock and Hay, where a stately round tower marks the site of the ancient castle of the Cliffords, in which the tyrant Mahel lost his life. Camden, in his account of Gloucestershire, has committed a great topographical error in placing the scene of this catastrophe at Saint Briavel's castle in the forest of Dean.

the principal tower on his head : upon which he instantly dispatched messengers to recall the bishop, and exclaimed with a lamentable voice, “ O, my father and high priest, your saint has taken most cruel vengeance of me, not waiting the conversion of a sinner, but hastening his death and overthrow.” Having often repeated similar expressions, and bitterly lamented his situation, he thus ended his tyranny and life together ; the first year of his government not having elapsed.

A powerful and noble personage, by name Brachanus, was in ancient times the ruler of the province of Brecheinoc, and from whom it derived this name. The British histories testify that he had four and twenty daughters, all of whom, dedicated from their youth to religious observances, happily ended their lives in sanctity. There are many churches in Wales distinguished by their names, one of which situated on the summit of a hill near Brecheinoc, and not far from the castle of Aberhodni, is called the church of Saint Almedha, after the name of the holy virgin, who refusing there the hand of an earthly spouse, married the eternal King, and triumphed in a happy martyrdom ; to whose honour a solemn feast is annually held in the beginning of August, and attended by a large concourse of people from a considerable distance, when those persons who labour under various diseases, through the merits of the blessed virgin, receive their wished for health. The circumstances which occur at every anniversary appear to me remarkable. You may see men or girls, now in the church, now in the churchyard, now in the dance, which is led round the churchyard with a song, on a sudden falling on the ground as in a trance, then jumping up as in a frenzy, and representing with their hands and feet, before the people, what-

ever work they have unlawfully done on feast days;¹² you may see one man put his hand to the plough, and another as it were goad on the oxen, mitigating their sense of labour, by the usual rude song:¹³ one man imitating the profession of a shoemaker; another that of a tanner. Now you may see a girl with a distaff, drawing out the thread, and winding it again on the spindle; another walking, and arranging the threads for the web; another, as it were, throwing the shuttle, and seeming to weave. On being brought into the church, and led up to the altar with their oblations, you will be astonished to see them suddenly awakened, and coming to themselves. Thus, by the divine mercy, which rejoices in the conversion, not in the death of sinners, many persons from the conviction of their senses, are on these feast days corrected and amended.

This country sufficiently abounds with grain, and if there is any deficiency, it is amply supplied from the neighbouring parts of England; it is well stored with pastures, woods, wild and domestic animals. River fish are plentiful, supplied by the Usk on one side, and the Wye on the other: each of them produces salmon and trout; but the Wye abounds the most with the former; the Usk with the latter. The salmon of the Wye are in season during the winter, those of the Usk in summer; but the Wye alone produces the fish called Umber, the praise of which is celebrated in the works of

¹² From this account of Giraldus, we might almost suppose that our modern jumpers (so numerous throughout Wales) are the descendants of these votaries of Saint Aled.

¹³ This same habit is still used by the Welsh ploughboys; they have a sort of chaunt, consisting of half or even quarter notes, which is sung to the oxen at plough: the countrymen vulgarly supposing that the beasts are consoled to work more regularly and patiently by such a lullaby.

Ambrosius, as being found in great numbers in the rivers near Milan ; “ What,” says he, “ is more beautiful to behold, more agreeable to smell, or more pleasant to taste?” The famous lake of Brecheinoc supplies the country with pike, perch, excellent trout, tench, and eels. A circumstance concerning this lake, that happened a short time before our days, must not be passed over in silence. “ In the reign of King Henry the First, Gruffydh, son of Rhys ap Theodor, held under the king one comot, namely, the fourth part of the cantred of Caoc,¹⁴ in the Cantref Mawr, which, in title and dignity, was esteemed by the Welsh equal to the southern part of Wales, called Deheubarth. When Gruffydh, on his return from the king’s court, passed near this lake, which at that cold season of the year was covered with water-fowl of various sorts, being accompanied by Milo Earl of Hereford, and Lord of Brecheinoc, and Payn Fitz John, Lord of Ewyas, who were at that time secretaries and privy counsellors to the king ; Earl Milo, wishing to draw forth from Gruffydh some discourse concerning his innate nobility, rather jocularly than seriously, thus addressed him : “ It is an ancient saying in Wales, that if the natural prince of the country coming to this lake, shall order the birds to sing, they will immediately obey him.” To which Gruffydh, richer in mind, than in gold (for though his inheritance was diminished, his ambition and dignity still remained), answered,

¹⁴ This cantref, which now bears the name of Caeo, is placed, according to the ancient divisions of Wales, in the Cantref Bychan, or little hundred, and not in the Cantref Mawr, or great hundred.

A village between Lanbeder in Cardiganshire and Llandovery in Caermarthenshire, still bears the name of Cynvil Caeo, and from its picturesque situation, and remains of its mines, which were probably worked by the Romans, deserves the notice of the curious traveller.

“ Do you, therefore, who now hold the dominion of this land, first give the command ; but he and Payn having in vain commanded, and Gruffydh perceiving that it was necessary for him to do so in his turn, dismounted from his horse, and falling on his knees towards the east, as if he had been about to engage in battle, prostrate on the ground, with his eyes and hands uplifted to Heaven, poured forth devout prayers to the Lord : at length rising up, and signing his face and forehead with the figure of the cross, he thus openly spake : “ Almighty God, and Lord Jesus Christ, who knowest all things, declare here this day thy power. If thou hast caused me to descend lineally from the natural princes of Wales, I command these birds in thy name to declare it ;” and immediately the birds, beating the water with their wings, began to cry aloud and proclaim him : the spectators were astonished and confounded ; and Earl Milo hastily returning with Payn Fitz John to court, related this singular occurrence to the king, who is said to have replied, “ By the death of Christ (an oath he was accustomed to use), it is not a matter of so much wonder ; for although by our great authority we commit acts of violence and wrong against these people, yet they are known to be the rightful inheritors of this land.”

The lake also (according to the testimony of the inhabitants) is endued with miraculous powers ; for as we have before observed, it sometimes assumed a greenish hue, so in our days it has appeared to be tinged with red, not universally, but as if blood flowed partially through certain veins and small channels. Moreover it is sometimes seen by the inhabitants covered and adorned with buildings, pastures, gardens, and orchards. In the winter, when it is frozen over, and the surface of the water is converted into a shell of ice, it

emits an horrible sound resembling the moans of many animals collected together ; but this perhaps may be occasioned by the sudden bursting of the shell, and the gradual ebullition of the air through imperceptible channels. This country is well sheltered on every side (except the northern) by high mountains ; on the western, by those of Cantref Bachan ;¹⁵ on the southern, by that range, of which the principal is Cadair Arthur, or the chair of Arthur, so called from two peaks rising up in the form of a chair, and which, from its lofty situation, is vulgarly ascribed to Arthur, the distinguished King of the Britons. A spring of water rises on the summit of this mountain, deep, but of a square shape, like a well, and although no stream runs from it, trout are said to be sometimes found in it.

Being thus sheltered on the south by high mountains, the cooler breezes protect this district from the heat of the sun, and by their natural salubrity render the climate most temperate. Towards the east are the mountains of Talgarth and Ewyras. The natives of these parts, actuated by continual enmities, and implacable hatred, are perpetually engaged in bloody contests. But we leave to others to describe the great and enormous excesses, which in our time have been here committed, with regard to marriages, divorces, and many other circumstances of cruelty and oppression.

¹⁵ That chain of mountains which divides Brecknockshire from Caermarthenshire, over which the turnpike road formerly passed from Trecastle to Llandovery, and from which the river Usk derives its source.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER II.

HAY.—A pleasant market town on the southern banks of the river Wye, over which there is a bridge. It still retains some marks of baronial antiquity in the old castle within the present town, the gateway of which is tolerably perfect. A high raised tumulus adjoining the church marks the site of the more ancient and simple British fortress. In the churchyard is the effigy of a female rudely sculptured and much defaced.

The more modern and spacious castle owes its foundation probably to one of those Norman lords who, about the year 1090, conquered this part of Wales. Having expelled the British chieftain from his stronghold, he erected a castle on a more elevated and advantageous situation; built a town for his vassals, and surrounded it with strong walls, many parts of which are still visible on the eastern side of the town of Hay. Little notice is taken of this castle in the Welsh chronicles. From other historians I learn that it was destroyed in the year 1231, by King Henry the Second, and refortified by his son King Henry the Third.^a

In the year 1263 Prince Edward besieged the castles of Hay and Huntingdon, belonging to Humphrey Bohun VI. Earl of Hereford, in the marches of Wales, and took them; together with his castle at Brechnock.^b

^a A. D. 1231 Rex Henricus III. duxit exercitum in Walliam, et firmavit castrum de Hay, quod pater ejus destruxerat. Leland. Collect. Tom. I. p. 242.

^b A. D. 1263. Eo tempore Edwardus castra Humfredi de Bohun, videlicet Hay et Huntingdon, obsedit, et cepit: cepit etiam castrum de Breknoke, et universa Rogero de Mortuo mari tradidit custodienda. Matt. Paris, p. 992.

In 1264 it was taken and burned by Llewelyn Prince of North Wales.

The castle and manor of Hay were given, by King Edward the First, to Humphrey de Bohun VII. on his marriage with Maud daughter of William de Fienles. It came afterwards into the possession of the Dukes of Buckingham, and at the time when Leland wrote his Itinerary, belonged to the Lord Stafford.^c

Leland gives the following account of this place: "The Hay stonduith hard upon Wy, and yet sheuith the token of a right strong waulle, having in hit iii gates and a posterne. Ther is also a castel, the which sumtime hath bene right stately.

"Within the towne is but one poore paroche. In the suburbe hard by Wy is a paroche churche meately fair. Ther is also in the suburbe a chapel wher on a Sunday I hard messe. Not far from the paroche churche in the suburbe is a great rounde hille of yerth cast up by mennes hondes other for a wynd mille to stond apon, or rather for sum fortres of bataille. The toun of Hay yet hath a market, but the toun within the waulles is wonderfully decaied. The ruine is adscribid to Oene Glindour. One shewid me in the toun the ruines of a gentilman's place caullid Waulwine, be whose meanes Prince Lluelin was sodenli taken at Buelth castel, and ther behedded, and his hedde sent to the kinge." Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 74.

Landeu.—A small village about two miles from Brecknock, on the left of the road leading from thence to Hay; its manor belongs to the Bishops of Saint David's, who had formerly a castellated mansion there, of which some ruins still remain: Leland mentions

^c The tounne longgid to the Duke of Bokingham; it pertainith now to the Lord Stafford his sonne. Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 75.

it in his time, as an unseemly ruin.^d The tithes of this parish are appropriated to the archdeaconry of Brecknock, and here was the residence of our author Giraldus, which he mentions in several of his writings, and alludes to with heartfelt satisfaction at the end of the third chapter of this Itinerary.

Aberhodni.—The ancient name of the town and castle of Brecknock, derived from its situation at the confluence of the river Hodni with the Usk. The castle and two religious buildings, of which the remains are still extant, owe their foundation to Bernard de Newmarch, a Norman knight, who in the year 1090, obtained by conquest the lordship of Brecknock. The priory church is situated on an eminence at the upper end of the town, and contains a few ancient monuments, which, together with the building, are in a very dilapidated condition; it was dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, and liberally endowed by the founder, appropriated to the Benedictine order, and subordinate to the abbey of Battel in Sussex. The priory walks, on the well wooded banks of the river Honddy, have been often and very justly admired. The monastery of Black Friars, converted afterwards into a college, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, stands in the southern suburbs of the town, and on the other side of the river Usk; it contains several monuments erected to the memory of the bishops of Saint David's, none of which are remarkable for their antiquity or good sculpture. Divine service is occasionally performed in the choir of this ancient building, which, like the priory,

^d Llannedeu, a mile from Brekenok, a lordship of the Bishops of Saint David, wher was sumtime a veri fayre place of the bisshopps, now no thing but an onsemeli ruine. The Archidiacon of Brekenok hath a house even there, and that is also fallen douen for the more part. Giraldus maketh mention of this house. Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 72.



FRÉCHINO.

Engraved. North. 6. 6. by William Miller. Albemarle Street. London.

is verging quickly to decay. Few towns surpass Brecknock in picturesque beauties: the different mills and bridges on the rivers Usk and Honddy, the ivy-mantled walls and towers of the old castle, the massive embattled turret and gateway of the priory, with its luxuriant groves, added to the magnificent range of mountain scenery on the southern side of the town, form, in many points of view, the most beautiful, rich, and varied outline imaginable.

From Leland we may collect the following information respecting this ancient town and castle. "The castel stondith in the suburbe and is devidid from the toun by Hondeney river, over the wich is a hy bridge of 2 arches to go into the castel, the wich is very large, strong, welle mainteynid; and the keep of the castel is very large and faire.

"Ther apperith digging, wher menne laborid to bring a peace of Hondy about to insulate Brekenok with hit and Wiske.

"At the ende of the lower part of the castel cummith Honddey into Uske as soon as Uske is ones passid thorough the great bridge.

"Uske bridge at Brekenoc was throuen down by the rage of Uske water anno 26 Henrici VIII. die S. Hugonis. It was not by rain but by snow meltid that cam out of the montaines. The water ranne forward about the toppe of the hy bridge, and the circle mark apperithe almost to the midde waul of the Blake Freres cloistre. To the lordship of Brekenoc longgith but only the market of Brekenoc.

"In al the lordship of Brekenoc was not in time of memori but the Priori of Blake Monkes in Brekenoc, a celle to Bataile. Bernardus de novo mercatu was founder of hit.

"The town of Brekenoc is welle waulled and hath a fair castel joining to hit. The Duke of Bokingham was of late Lord there.

“ Brekenoc waullid iii gates. Old port superior, as the hy gate by north. West gate by the Blake Freer. They be in the suburbe. Est gate, Water gate, Cambricè Porthen ucha i. e. superior, the old gate. Portbont, bridggate, alias west gate. Portissa the lower gate, alias est gate. Port-dowre, water gate, alias Portwiske. In the towne is a mighti great chapel with a large tour for belles of harde ston costely squared with the expenses of a thousand poundes. The parochie was wher the priori was, and was afore ther or the priori was made, and yet is. It stondith north withowt the waulle apone the ripe of Hondbye.” Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 69.

The original possessor of this province of Brecknock was Brachan, from whom it derived its name of Brecheinoc. In the year 1090, it was subdued by Bernard Newmarch, a Norman knight, who came into England with William the Conqueror, and by the perfidious treachery of Nest his wife, was taken away from his son Mahel, the rightful inheritor, and illegally conferred by Henry the First on his sister, whom the king gave away in marriage to Milo, created afterwards Earl of Hereford. Milo, leaving no male issue, the lordship of Brecknock devolved on his daughter Berta, who espoused Philip de Braose, only son of William de Braose, a native of France, who possessed great landed property in the county of Sussex.*

Philip de Braose left two sons, the eldest of whom, named William, married Mawd de S. Wallery, or de Haia, and became lord of the

* In the year 1075, William de Braose gave to the Benedictine abbey of St. Florant de Saumur, in the province of Anjou in France, the churches of St. Peter at Sele, St. Nicholas at Bramber, St. Nicholas at Shoreham, and some others in Sussex; upon which a Benedictine convent was built at Sele in Sussex, and made a cell to the foreign establishment. The original grant of the founder, William de Braose, and his seal, are preserved by Dugdale in his Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 581.

castles of Hay and Brecknock: he had three sons, the eldest of whom, William, was starved to death, with his mother, by order of King John, at Windsor. Giles, his second son, was Bishop of Hereford A. D. 1200, and succeeded to his father's estates, which he left to his brother Reginald, who, promising obedience to King Henry, was put into immediate possession of them; but this agreement being made without the privity of Llewelyn, that prince marched with his army into Brecknockshire, and laid siege to the castle of Aberhodni, which, on Reginald's asking his pardon, Llewelyn relinquished, and restored him to his favour.^f

He was succeeded by his son William, who being suspected of an adulterous intercourse with the wife of Llewelyn, and sister of the king, was, in the year 1229, executed on a gallows. “Anno Domini 1229, Lewellinus Willielmum de Breaus Baronem nobilem quem ad festa Paschalia invitaverat, post epularum copiam super adulterio et violatione uxoris suæ accusans, et malitiosè eum et hostiliter ingressus est, et eum in carcerem trudens, morte turpissimâ et absque omni iudicio sententialiter interemit.” Knighton, p. 2440.^g

The scene of his execution is supposed to have been near the village of Aber, between Conwy and Bangor in North Wales, where a high raised mound of earth is shewn, as the ancient site of Prince

^f In the mean time Giles de Bruse, Bishop of Hereford (and chiefe of this conspi-
racie), sonne to William de Bruse, sent his brother Reynold to Brecknock, and all the
people received him as their lord, and so he got all his castels without gaine saieng of
anie man. But when the bishop came thither himselfe, they delivered him the castels
of Aberhodny, Hay, Buelht, &c. &c. Powel, p. 271.

^g Willielmus de Brausiâ, vir nobilis et potens, à Leolino Principe Walliarum pati-
bulo suspensus est mense Aprile, cum uxore ejus, ut dicebatur, in adulterio deprehensus.
Matt. Paris, p. 365.

Llewelyn's castle. This unfortunate nobleman was invited to a sumptuous entertainment at Easter, on the conclusion of which, being accused by the prince of an adulterous connexion with his wife, he was seized, condemned, and executed. Mr. Pennant, in describing the neighbourhood of Aber, says, " that a tradition still prevails in the country, that a bard of the palace accidentally meeting with the princess (who was ignorant of the fate of her lover), accosted her in the following manner :

Dicyn docyn, gwraig Llewelyn
Beth à roit ti am weled Gwilym ?

Dicyn docyn,^h thou wife of Llewelyn,
What wouldest thou give for a sight of William ?

To which the princess replied

Cymru, Lloegyr, a Llewelyn
Y rown i gyd am weled Gwilym.

Wales, England, and Llewelyn,
All would I give for a sight of William.

Other writers say that the wife of Llewelyn was of a very gallant disposition, and that she had many favourites, amongst whom was William de Braose, who being caught by the prince in one of his intrigues, was seized and put to death. Llewelyn, either by himself, or by one of his friends, rallied his lady in the words of the first two lines ; and when she replied with assurance, in the concluding

^h Dicyn docyn are crambo words in children's play.

words, the prince immediately led her to a window, and pointed to her lover hanging on a tree.

On his death, the honours of Hay and Brecknock descended to his daughter Eleanor, who married Humphrey de Bohun, the sixth Earl of Hereford of the name of Humphrey. In the year 1263, Prince Edward seized his castle at Brecknock, and committed it to the care of Roger de Mortimer.¹ He was succeeded in his titles by Humphrey the Seventh, who seems to have reacquired the possession of his lands in Brecknockshire, for his son, Humphrey the Eighth, in the thirtieth year of King Edward the First's reign, by a formal conveyance gave and granted to the king all his lands and lordships both in England and Wales, amongst which were the castles of Brecknock and Hay; but on his marriage with Elizabeth, the king's daughter, all these lands, castles, and lordships were regranted to him, and entailed upon his right heirs.

John de Bohun, his son, died seized of the castles of Hay and Brecknock, and in 26 Edward III. his brother Humphrey, who succeeded to his titles and estates, was charged with the levy of sixty men for his honour of Brecknock: he died unmarried A. D. 1361, and all his lands and honours descended to his nephew, Humphrey de Bohun, who left two daughters his heirs; the eldest of whom, named Eleanor, became the wife of Thomas of Woodstock, sixth son to King Edward the Third. By this marriage, the lordship of Brecknock, which for so many years had been vested in the family of Bohun, came into that of Stafford.

In the twenty-second year of King Richard the Second's reign, Edmund Earl of Stafford, by virtue of the king's special license,

¹ See preceding note, p. 40.

married Anne, the widow of his brother Thomas (viz. daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sister and coheir to Eleanor her mother, one of the daughters and coheirs to the last Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford), and immediately after the coronation of King Henry the Fourth, A. D. 1399, had an assignation of his property in all those knights fees, which by inheritance belonged to the aforesaid Eleanor. His son Humphrey, in 23 Henry VI. was advanced to the earldom of Buckingham, and was succeeded by Henry, his grandson and heir, son of Humphrey Earl of Stafford, who was slain in the battle of St. Albans.

Morton Bishop of Ely was, by order of Richard Duke of Gloucester, committed to his custody, and confined in his castle at Brecknock, from which circumstance, a part of that building still retains the name of Ely Tower. Having been a principal agent in advancing Richard to the throne, he procured from the new king a bill for livery of all those lands to him, which he claimed by right of descent from Humphrey de Bohun; and was advanced to the high office of Constable of England, and appointed Chief Justice and Chamberlain of all South and North Wales. He soon afterwards retired to his castle at Brecknock, and there plotted with his prisoner, the Bishop of Ely, how to advance Henry Earl of Richmond to the throne; his treacherous intentions being discovered by the king, he was obliged to have recourse to arms; but here his good fortune forsook him, for he was betrayed in Shropshire by one of his servants, named Banaster, and delivered to John Mitton, then Sheriff of Shropshire, who conveyed him to Salisbury, where, without arraignment or judgment, he was beheaded on a scaffold in the open market-place.

The following particulars respecting the lordship of Brecknock, "owte of a Chronique of the Gestes of England, written yn Frenche," are printed in Leland's Itinerary, Tom. VI. p. 67.

"A. D. 1229, Reinauld de Brayuse dyed, and William his son succedid hym. The which William was taken prisoner, and after cam out agayn.

A. D. 1231, William de Brayuse was betrahid by Lewelin.

A. D. 1233, Richard le Marescal and Lewelin besegid the castelle of Breknok.

A. D. 1246, Humfrede de Boun receyvid the land of Breknok by his wife.

A. D. 1252, Elianor Lady of Breknok died.

A. D. 1266, Humfray Lord of Breknok died at Beston yn the prison of Syr (Prince) Edward. The Counte of Glocester toke garde of Humfray the trew heir of Humfray Lord of Breknok.

And not long after Lewelin had the land of Breknok grauntid hym.

A. D. 1271, Young Humfray fastnid on his land of Breknok after the fest of S. Marke."

William de Breusa, or Braose—Was by extraction, a Frenchman, and had extensive possessions in England, as well as Normandy: he was succeeded by his son Philip, who, in the reign of William Rufus favoured the cause of King Henry against Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy; and being afterwards rebellious to his sovereign, was disinherited of his lands. By his marriage with Berta, daughter of Milo Earl of Hereford, he gained a rich inheritance in Brecknock, Over-Went, and Gower. He left issue two sons, William and Philip: William married Mawd de Saint Wallery, and succeeded to the

great estate of his father and mother, which he kept in peaceable possession during the reigns of King Henry the Second, and King Richard the First. In order to avoid the persecutions of King John, he retired with his family to Ireland, and from thence returned into Wales: on hearing of the king's arrival in Ireland, his wife Mawd fled with her sons into Scotland, where she was taken prisoner, and in the year 1210, committed, with William her son and heir, to Windsor castle, and there miserably starved to death, by order of King John: her unfortunate husband William de Braose, escaped into France disguised, and dying there, was buried in the abbey church of Saint Victor at Paris. The cause of the king's displeasure against William de Braose is thus related by the historian Matthew Paris: "When the Pope had excommunicated the realm of England, the king took pledges of such of his nobles, as he thought were disaffected to him: amongst others, he sent messengers to William de Braose to demand his sons as pledges, to whom Mawd his wife, being the readier speaker, answered (though what she said was no less her husband's sentiment than her own), 'That the king who had proved so base a guardian to his nephew Prince Arthur, whom instead of setting in, he deprived of, his right, should have none of her children.' The king was so highly displeased with this message, that he ordered some soldiers to be sent to seize this lord; but he, having timely intelligence of this order, fled into Ireland with his wife and children, where his wife and son were unfortunately taken, but he himself escaped, and fled into France, where not long after he died."

The family of Saint Walery, or Valery—Derived their name from a sea-port in France, so called from Saint Valeric, a disciple of

Columban, whom, about the year 589, Clotharius made abbot of a monastery in the territory of Amiens. From this port, William Duke of Normandy set sail for his English expedition; and some historians, who are fond of a miracle, report that the duke was detained here by adverse winds, till the body of the saint carried in procession, brought a fair gale.^k

The first of this family was the duke's advocate, called Gilbertus Advocatus de Gualerico, who married Papia, the daughter of Richard the second Duke of Normandy, whose son was Bernard de Saint Walery, who had issue Walter de S. Walery. One of this family having been thus by marriage related to the duke, came over with him into England. In the list of those who were present at the conquest of England, is Le Sire de S. Walery, and among the names of those who remained alive after the battle, is R. de S. Valery, who I suppose was Ranulph de S. Walery, recorded in Doomsday for possession of lands in Lincolnshire; and who had several houses in Winchester, from whom a street in that city was called Vicus Sancti Walerici.^l

About the year 1112, Jeffery de Iveri, lord of Ambrosden in Oxfordshire, died without issue, upon which his barony fell to the king, who soon after bestowed it on Guy de St. Walery, who seems to be the son, or younger brother of Ranulph de S. Walery, who

^k “ Duke Wylliam and his men were longe taryed in Saint Walerye's haven, for the wynde was agaynst them. The people grutched and sayd, that it was a woodness to chalenge by strengthe other mennes londe, and namely while God strofe agaynst them, and God must graunte them good wynde yf they sholde saylle. Duke Wylliam made brynge out Saint Walerius holy body, and set hym there out for to heve wynde. Anone lykyng wynde fylled the sayles.” Higden, Lib. VI. fol. 261.

^l Dugdale Monasticon, Tom. I. p. 212.

came into England with William the Conqueror. This Guy de S. Walery died about the year 1141, and left a son and heir, Reginald, who being a friend and adherent of the empress, was by King Stephen disseized of his lordship of Haseldone in the county of Gloucester, which in the year 1155 was restored to him. He had been a faithful friend, and was now a great favourite with King Henry, who on the death of Jeffery de Iveri bestowed on him that honour, which from him and his successors was called the honour of S. Walery. He died about the year 1166, and left issue one daughter Mawd, called Matildis de Sancto Walerico, who married William de Braose, a potent baron, and for her bold and resolute behaviour to King John, was miserably famished, with her eldest son, in Windsor Castle, An. 1210.^m

Osred—Was King of the Northumbrians, and son of Alured: his reign was short, for the same giddy multitude who had placed the diadem on his head, A. D. 791, deprived him of it in less than a year; he fled for security to the Isle of Man, but was afterwards ensnared by Ethelred, his successor, and, falling a sacrifice to his wiles, was put to death at a place called Dinburch.

“ Osredus Rex dolo suorum principum circumventus, à regno privatus, attonsus est in Eboracâ civitate, et postea necessitate coactus, exilium petit. Ipso quoque anno Osredus de exilio sacramentis et fide quorundam principum, clam de Eufaniâ venit, ibique deficientibus

^m Rex tandem veniens in provinciam regionis illius quæ Mide (Meath) nuncupatur; Matildem uxorem Willielmi de Brause, et Willielmum filium ejus, cum uxore suâ, in quadam munitione obsedit et cepit; à quo clam evadentes, et postea rursus capti insula de May, regi sunt præsentati, vinculis constrictos asperrimis, misit in Angliam, et in castello de Windleshores, sub arctâ custodiâ deputavit; qui omnes rege jubente fame perierunt. Matt. Paris, p. 230.

ab eo suis militibus, captus est a Rege Ethelred, atque eo jubente occisus in loco, qui dicitur Dingburch, decimo octavo calendas Octobris; corpus vero ejus ad ostium Tini fluminis (Tynemouth) perlatum est, et in basilicâ ejusdem eximii cœnobii sepultum." Hoveden, p. 405.

But, according to Cressy, who cites Huntingdon as his authority, King Osred was slain in combat near Mere, by the treason of his kinsman Kenred, the son of Cuthwin. "Osred verò rex belli infortunio juxta Mere pugnans interfectus est."

Saint Kenelm—Was the only son and heir of Kenulfus King of the Mercians: on his decease, he left a son under the care of his two sisters, Quendreda and Bragenilda; the former, blinded by ambition, resolved to destroy the innocent child, who stood between her and the throne; and for that purpose, prevailed on Ascabert, who attended constantly on the king, to murder him privately, giving him hopes, in case he complied with her wishes, of making him her partner in the kingdom. Under the specious pretence of diverting his young master, this wicked servant led him into a retired vale at Clent in Staffordshire, and having murdered him, dug a pit, and cast his body into it, which by a miracle was discovered, and carried in solemn procession to the abbey of Winchelcomb. In the parish of Clent, is a small chapel dedicated to this saint; and on one of the outward walls is the rude figure of a child, holding up his right-hand, as if in the act of giving the benediction. In the chapel yard is a fine spring, which in former days was much celebrated for its miraculous qualities.

Further particulars respecting Saint Kenelm, Clent, &c. may be found in the appendix to Dr. Nash's History of Worcestershire.

Winchelcumbe, or Winchcomb—Lies in the lower part of the hundred of Kiftsgate in Gloucestershire, a few miles to the north of Cheltenham: it was once a populous and flourishing town, but at present bears a very melancholy and deserted appearance. In the year 787, Offa King of Mercia built a nunnery at Winchcomb, which Kenulph in 798 converted into a monastery: it was dedicated, with great pomp, to the Virgin Mary, and consecrated by Wulfrid Archbishop of Canterbury, and twelve other bishops, in the presence of King Kenulph. Cuthred King of Kent, Sired King of the West Saxons, and most of the nobles of the kingdom of Mercia, attended this ceremony; and in honour of the solemnity, Kenulph released the King of Kent, who was at that time his prisoner. So spacious was this monastery, that at the period of its first foundation, it maintained three hundred monks of the Benedictine order.^a

Collar of Saint Canoc.—As the explanation of this relic is rather difficult, I shall transcribe the text of Giraldus, that my readers may judge of the passage themselves: “Præterea de torque quam S. Canauci dicunt, tacendum non censui. Est etenim auro tam pondere et naturâ quam colore simillimus. Ex quatuor frustis sicut ex

^a Rex Offa monasterium virginum nunc in monachos mutatum apud Wynchcomb fundavit. Rex Merciorum Kenulphus fundavit abbatiam monachorum de Winchcomb ubi priùs ex fundatione Regis Offæ erat monasterium monialium, et obiit Anno Domini DCCCXIX. Sanctus Kenulphus Rex Merciorum, filius et heres Regis Kenulphi, puer septennis martyrizatus est anno Domini DCCCCXXV cujus corpus a proditore suo sepulturâ absconditum est, sed per angelum in specie columbæ sedulâ divinitus à cœlo missâ super altare coram domino papa est revelatum. Cujus sedulæ hæc erat sententia. “In Clent in Cowbache hed berevyd lyth Kenelme,” quod sonat Latinè. “Kenelmus decollatus jacet apud Cowbache.” Et sic gloriosum corpus ejus miraculosè inventum, translatus est usque monasterium de Winchcomb, et in utroque loco tam primæ sepulturæ quam translationis in scrineum miraculis gloriosis choruscat. Ross. Warwic. p. 76.

rimulis patet; orbiculariter in verticem insectis artificiosè commensus, et capite quasi canino rictuosis hinc inde dentibus extante per medium complexus." It had originally perhaps a clasp to fasten it round the arm, for in another ancient record, it is called "armilla." It is noticed in an old MS. legend in the British Museum, entitled "Cognacio Brachan unde Brecheynawc dicta est, &c." It there appears, that S. Kynauc (as he is styled) was a natural son of Brychan, Regulus of Brecknock, by a Princess of Powis. "Posteà ortâ guerrâ inter reges, dedit eum (i. e. Brychan) pater suus obsidem Regi de Powis, nomine Benadel. Quo dum moram traheret, compressit filiam dicti regis nomine Benadulved, quæ concepit et peperit filium, quem fecit deportari ad Sanctum Gastayn, cujus nunc ecclesia sita est juxta maram; qui baptizavit eum, et vocavit nomen ejus Kynaucum: cognoverunt autem omnes ex pileo et armillâ (the cap and bracelet) quo erat indutus Kynauc, quod filius Brachan erat." Another account which I have seen says, that Brychan, when he sent his son to be baptized, put a bracelet upon his arm, which is still preserved as a most precious relic. The "Ecclesia S. Gastayn juxta maram," is now called Llangast Tallyllyn, and is situated upon the verge of Lyn savaddan, or Llangor's pool, in Brecknockshire.

Saint Kynauc, who flourished about the year 492, was the reputed son of Brychan Lord of Brecknock, by Benadulved, daughter of Benadyl, a Prince of Powis, whom he seduced during the time of his detention as an hostage, at the court of her father. Cressy informs us, that the fame of his sanctity was most eminent amongst the Silures. He is said to have been murdered upon a mountain called the Van, and buried in the church of Merthyr Cynawg, or Cynawg the Martyr, near Brecknock, which is dedicated to his memory.

Horn of Saint Patrick.—Some authors affirm, that Saint Patrick was born in the fourth century, at Dunbarton in Scotland; and others fix the place of his nativity at Saint David's in Wales. His father's name was Calphurnius, that of his mother Conche, or Conchessa; from them he was snatched away, at an early age, by some pirates, who infested the coast of Britain, and carried over into Ireland, where he was sold for a slave, and remained in captivity for six or seven years: he afterwards visited Italy and Gaul, where he pursued his studies under the direction of Saint Germanus Bishop of Auxerre. About the year 432, he was consecrated bishop, and sent by the Pope into Ireland to preach the Gospel, which he did with the greatest success. Some writers assert, that he spent the latter part of his life amongst the hermits of Avalonia, or Glastonbury in Somersetshire, and that he died and was buried there; whilst the Irish historians maintain that he ended his days, and was buried at Down-Patrick, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years, sixty of which he had spent in the Irish mission.

The miracle relating to this horn, is thus related by Giraldus in his topography of Ireland. “ An Irish beggar was seen in Wales, wearing round his neck as a relic, a brazen horn, which he said had belonged to Saint Patrick, and further asserted, that no one, out of reverence to the saint, would presume to sound it. On his presenting the horn to be kissed by the surrounding multitude, a certain priest, named Bernard, snatched it from him, and applying it to the corner of his mouth, began to blow it; when, to the general astonishment of all the spectators, he was instantly seized with a paralytic affection in his mouth, and deprived of the use of speech.

“ Vidimus quoque in Gwalliâ (unde et vehementiùs admiramur)

Hibernensem baiulum quendam, cornu quoddam æneum, quod Sancti Patritii fuisse dicebat, pro reliquiis in collo gestantem. Dicebat autem ob reverentiam sancti illius, neminem ausum hoc sonare. Cum igitur (Hibernico more) circumstanti populo cornu porrigeret osculandum; sacerdos quidam Bernardus nomine, de manibus ejus illud arripuit, et oris apponens angulo, aeremque impellens sonare cœpit; qui et eadem horâ multis astantibus, ore quidem aure tenus paralyticè retorto, duplici passione percussus est. Cum enim torrentis eloquii prius extitisset, et delatoris linguam detractor habuisset, sermonis cujuslibet statim amisit usum. Unde et in hac parte sic læsus est, ut semper hactenus linguæ fuerit impeditæ. Præterea lethargum patiens, sic statim oblivioni cuncta tradiderat, ut vix etiam se nomen habuisse meminisset. Enimvero tam enormiter in memoriâ læsus fuerat, ut psalmos, quos antea corde tenus optimè noverat, multis ab inde diebus quasi de novo recordantem videremus; et literas etiam, quarum notitiam copiosè satis habuerat, denuo mendicantem, tanquam elementarium, senem miraremur. Cui tandem in Hiberniam ad Sanctum Patritium, excessus hujus causâ, peregre profecto; plenior valetudo rediit, sed non plena." *Topog. Hib.* p. 748.

Saint Elwith—In Welsh, Illtyd, which has been latinized into Iltutus, as in the instance of Saint Iltutus, the celebrated disciple of Germanus, and the master of the learned Gildas, who founded a college for the instruction of youth at Llantwit, on the coast of Glamorganshire; but I do not conceive this to be the same person. The name of Ty-Illtyd, or Saint Illtyd's house, is still known at Llanamllech, but it is applied to one of those monuments of Druidical antiquity, called a Cistvaen, erected upon an eminence named Maenest, at a short distance from the village. It is composed of three rude

stones pitched firmly in the ground, and supporting a fourth, placed in a declining posture upon the top, and evidently of the same construction with what is elsewhere called a Cromllech. The space beneath is about eight feet long, four feet wide, and nearly of the same height, and open at one end; the side stones within are inscribed with a number of strange characters, slightly scratched with the point of some sharp instrument, but without any seeming order, the playful handiwork perhaps of those who from curiosity have visited the hermit's cell. A rude upright stone, as was common near Cromllechs, stood formerly on one side of it, and was called by the country people Maen Illtyd, or Illtyd's stone, but was removed about a century since by Mr. Walbeof, the lord of the manor, who made use of it in building. A well, the stream of which divides this parish from the neighbouring one of Llansanfraed, is called Ffynnon Illtyd, or Illtyd's well. This then was evidently the site of the hermitage mentioned by Giraldus.

Bernard Newmarch.—I know not upon what authority Mr. Collinson, the historian of Somersetshire, says, that the original name of this Bernard was Pancewolt; for the name of Newmarche appears in the roll of Battel abbey, as a witness to one of the charters granted by William the Conqueror to the monks of Battel in Sussex, upon his foundation of their abbey. He obtained the territory of Brecknock by conquest, from Bleddyn ap Maenyrch, the British regulus thereof, about the year 1092, soon after his countryman, Robert Fitzhamon, had reduced the county of Glamorgan; having destroyed the British town, which had been erected upon the ruins of the Roman station at Gaer, he removed the materials, and built the present town of Brecknock, where he also founded a priory of Benedictine

monks. According to Leland, he was buried in the cloister of the cathedral church at Gloucester, though the mutilated remains of an effigy and monument are still ascribed to him in the priory church at Brecknock. The manner of his losing the lordship of Brecknock is fully related in the Itinerary.

Milo—Was son to Walter, Constable of England in the reign of Henry the First, and Emme his wife, one of the daughters of Dru de Baladun, sister to Hameline de Baladun, a person of great note, who came into England with William the Conqueror, and being the first Lord of Over-Went in the county of Monmouth, built the castle of Abergavenny. Milo was an expert soldier, and one of the chief counsellors to King Henry, who gave to him in marriage Sibyll, eldest daughter of Bernard Newmarch, together with the honour of Brecknock. He so far ingratiated himself with the Empress Matilda, by taking her part against King Stephen, that, in return for his services, she created him Earl of Hereford.^p His five sons died without issue, and (as I before have mentioned) Philip de Braose, by his marriage with his daughter Berta, inherited his rich possessions in Wales. He was wounded by an arrow in hunting, on Christmas eve, A. D. 1144, and was buried in the chapter-house of Lanthoni near Gloucester.

Walter Clifford.—The first of this ancient family was called Ponce; he had issue three sons, Walter, Drogo or Dru, and Richard. The Conqueror's survey takes notice of the two former, but from Richard the genealogical line is preserved, who being called Richard de Pwns, obtained, as a gift from King Henry the First, the cantref

^p The charter of the creation of Milo to the earldom of Hereford is preserved in the first volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 8.

Bychan, or little hundred, and the castle of Llandoverly in Wales; he left three sons, Simon, Walter, and Richard. The Walter Clifford here mentioned was father to the celebrated Fair Rosamond, the favourite of King Henry the Second; and was succeeded by his eldest son, Walter, who married Margaret, daughter to Llewelyn Prince of Wales, and widow of John de Braose.

Brachanus.—An ancient manuscript entitled “Cognacio Brychan unde Brecheynawc dicta est, pars Demetiae South Walliæ,” in the Cotton Library, gives an account of this prince and his family. We are told, that he was the son of Awlach Mac-Gormuc, an Irish prince, by Marchell, daughter of Tydor, Regulus of Garthmathrin. In the Cambrian Biography, he is said to have been the son of Awlach, son of Cormach Mac-Carbery, one of the supreme kings of Ireland, that at an early age he was brought to Britain by his parents, who took up their residence at Benne (the Gaer, upon the banks of the river Isgaer near Brecknock), and having spent his youth in military exercises, succeeded, upon the death of his father, about the beginning of the fifth century, to the government of Garthmathrin, the name of which he changed to Brycheinog, which it still bears amongst the Welsh inhabitants, Brecon and Brecknock being merely the corruption of English settlers. Of Brychan and his family the monkish writers abound in superstitious anecdotes. He was a distinguished character in the history of Wales, as being the father of a very numerous issue, which came to be styled one of the three holy families of Britain; for nearly all his children embraced a religious life, and were the founders of several churches. The Welsh Triads explain the reason of the appellation of the three holy families of Brân, Brychan, and Cuneddha; and that of Brychan particularly,

“ for bringing up his children and grandchildren in learning, so as to be able to show the faith in Christ to the Cymry, where they were without faith. Brychan died about the year 450.” Giraldus in his Itinerary says, that Brachanus had four-and-twenty daughters: the Cambrian Biography enumerates the names of twenty-four sons, viz. Cynog, Cledwyn, Dingad, Arthen, Cyvlevyr, Rhain, Dyvnan, Gerwyn, Cadog, Mathaiarn, Pasgen, Nefai, Pabiali, Llechau, Cynbryd, Cynvran, Hychan, Dyvrig, Cynin, Dogvan, Rhawin, Rhun, Cledog, Caian.

William de Worcestre mentions also the names of twenty-four sons and daughters, viz. Nectanus, Johannes, Sudebrent, Menfrede, Delyan, Tetha, Maben, Wentu, Wensent, Marwenna, Wenna, Juliana, Yse, Morwenna, Wymip, Wenheden, Cleder, Kery, Iona, Heley, Lanant, Rerhender, Adwenhelye, Tamalant.

Leland agrees with William de Worcestre in stating the family of Brychan to consist of sons as well as daughters, and gives the following list of them, viz. Nectanus, Johannes, Endelient, Menfre, Dilia, Tedda, Maben, Weneu, Wensent, Merewenna, Wenna, Juliaria, Yse, Morwenna, Wymp, Wenheder, Cleder, Keri, Iona, Kanane, Kerhender, Adwen, Helie, Tamalane.

Saint Almedha, though not included in either of the three lists, is said to have been a daughter of Brychan, and sister to Saint Canoc, and to have born the name of Elevetha, Aled, or Elyned, latinized into Almedha. The Welsh genealogists say, that she suffered martyrdom on a hill near Brecknock, where a chapel was erected to her memory; and William of Worcester says she was buried at Usk.¹

¹ “ Sancta Elevetha virgo et martyr una 24 filiarum Reguli de Brekehaynoke in Walliâ per 24 miliaria de Hereforde este, jacet in ecclesiâ monialium virginum villæ

Mr. Hugh Thomas (who wrote an essay towards the history of Brecknockshire in the year 1698) speaks of the chapel as standing, though unroofed and useless, in his time; the people thereabouts call it Saint Tayled. It was situated on an eminence, about a mile to the eastward of Brecknock, and about half a mile from a farmhouse, formerly the mansion and residence of the Aubreys, lords of the manor of Slwch, which lordship was bestowed upon Sir Reginald Awbrey by Bernard Newmarch, in the reign of William Rufus. This chapel might have been seen, though in a dilapidated state, as late as the year 1690. Divine service had not been performed in it since the civil wars in the reign of King Charles the First. From a roll in the Augmentation Office, containing the names and valuations of the ecclesiastical possessions belonging to the dissolved monasteries, I find it was called the chapel of Saint Alice, in the parish of Brecknock; and a stipend was at that time paid to a curate for serving it. Some small vestiges of this building may still be traced, and an aged yew tree, with a well at its foot, marks the site near which the chapel formerly stood.

Gruffydh ap Rhys—Was son of Rhys ap Theodor, who in the year 1090 was slain in battle, not far from Brecknock. About the year 1113, “there was a talke through South Wales, of Gruffyth, the sonne of Rees ap Theodor, who for feare of the king had beene of a child brought up in Ireland, and had come over two yeares passed,

de Usque, et fuit martirizata super montem per unum miliare de Brekenok, ubi fons emanabat; et lapis ubi decapitabatur, ibi remanet, et quoties toties aliquis in honore Dei et dictæ sanctæ dicat orationem Dominicam, aut bibat de aquâ dicti fontis, inveniet qualibet vice crinem mulieris dictæ sanctæ super lapidem ex magno miraculo.” Will. de Worcestre, p. 157. In this passage the author seems to contradict his former list of Brychan’s children, by making them all daughters.

which time he had spent privilie with his freends, kinsfolks, and affines; as with Gerald steward of Penbrooke his brother-in-law, and others. But at the last he was accused to the king, that he intended the kingdome of South Wales as his father had enjoied it, which was now in the king's hands; and that all the countrie hoped of libertie through him; therefore the king sent to take him. But Gryffyth ap Rees hering this, sent to Gruffyth ap Conan Prince of North Wales, desiring him of his aid, and that he might remaine safelie within his countrie; which he granted, and received him joiouslie for his father's sake."^r He afterwards proved so troublesome and successful an antagonist, that the king endeavoured by every possible means to get him into his power. To Gruffyth ap Conan he offered "mountaines of gold to send the said Gruffyth or his head to him."^s And at a subsequent period, he sent for Owen ap Cadogan, and said to him, "Owen, I have found thee true and faithful unto me, therefore I desire thee to take or kill that murtherer Gruffyth ap Rees, that doth so trouble my loving subjects."^t But Gruffyth escaped all the snares which the king had laid for him, and in the year 1137, died a natural and honourable death: he is styled in the Welsh Chronicle, "the light, honor, and staie of South Wales;" and distinguished as the bravest, the wisest, the most merciful, liberal, and just of all the princes of Wales. By his wife Gwenlhian, the daughter of Gruffyth ap Conan, he left a son, commonly called the Lord Rhys, who met the Archbishop at Radnor, as is related in the first chapter of this Itinerary.

The lake of Brecheinoc—Bears the several names of Llyn Savaddon, Brecinaumere, Llangors, and Talyllyn Pool, the two latter of which

^r Powel, p. 175.

^s Powel, p. 176.

^t Powel, p. 180.

are derived from the names of parishes on its banks. Old historians write, that the Mercian Princess Edelfleda, A. D. 917, stormed a castle (probably Blaenllyfny) at Brecinaumere, and made the queen and thirty-four of her attendants prisoners. Grants of fishing in this lake were made to the monks of Brecknock and Lanthoni, which rights are still retained by the possessors of the priory lands of both places. It is a large, though by no means a beautiful piece of water, its banks being low and flat, and covered with rushes and other aquatic plants to a considerable distance from the shore. Pike, perch, and eels are the common fish of this water; tench and trout are rarely, I believe (if ever), taken in it. The ridiculous idea of its having swallowed up an ancient city is not yet quite exploded by the natives; and some will even attribute the name of Loventium to it; which is with much greater certainty fixed at Llanio-isau, between Lanpeder and Tregaron in Cardiganshire, on the northern banks of the river Teivi, where there are very considerable and undoubted remains of a large Roman city.

The monk of Chester has collected and compressed these tales of wonder into the following doggrel rhymes:

“ Ad Brechnoc est vivarium
 “ Satis abundans piscium,
 “ Sæpe coloris varii,
 “ Comma gerens Pomarîi,
 “ Structuras ædificiî,
 “ Sæpe videbis inibi.
 “ Sub lacu cum sit gelidus,
 “ Mirus auditur sonitus,

“ Si terræ princeps venerit,
 “ Aves cantare jusserit.
 “ Statim depromunt modulos
 “ Nil concinunt ad cæteros.”

Leland, speaking of this lake, says, “ Llin Sevathan is a *iiii* myles by south south est from Brekenok. It is in bredth a mile, and a *ii* miles of lenght, and wher as it is depest a *xiii* fadom. On the one side wel nere the ripe is a kinde of weedes that goith alonge the Llin, wherin the spaune hath socur, and also the greate fische. At great windes the water doth surge ther mervelusly. Lleveny cummith thorough this lake, no great river, and after great raine is parfightly seene of redde color in the midst of the lake. After that it is frozen, and with thaue beginnith to breeke, it makith such a noise that a man wold thinke hit a thunder. It berith as the principale fisch a great numbere of bremes, and they appere in May in mightti sculles, so that sumtime they breke large nettes: and ons frayed appereth (not in the brimme of the watar) that yere againe. It bereth also good pikes, and perches in greate numbere. Trowtes also and chevyns by cumming in of Lleveny. Menne fische there uniligneis, and they be very narrow. The hedde of the lake, wher Lleveny river cummith in, is at Llanvihengle Kythedine. The ende is at Llanvihengle Tal-y-Llyn.” Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 70.

Cadair Arthur.—This mountain is now called, by way of eminence, the Van, or the height, but more commonly, by country people, Bannau Brycheinog, or the Brecknock Heights, alluding to its two peaks. Our author, Giraldus, seems to have taken his account of the spring, on the summit of this mountain, from report, rather than

from ocular testimony. I examined the summits of each peak very attentively, and could discern no spring whatever. The soil is peaty and very boggy. On the declivity of the southern side of the mountain, and at no considerable distance from the summit, is a spring of very fine water, which my guide assured me never failed. On the north west side of the mountain is a round pool, in which possibly trout may have been sometimes found, but from the muddy nature of its waters, I do not think it very probable; from this pool issues a small brook, which falls precipitously down the sides of the mountain, and pursuing its course through a narrow and well wooded valley, forms a pretty cascade near a rustic bridge which traverses it. I am rather inclined to think, that Giraldus confounded in his account, the spring and the pool together.

Leland gives the following account of this mountain: " Artures hill is iii good Walsche miles south west from Brekenok, and in the veri toppe of the hille is a faire wellespring. This hille of summe is countid the hiest hille of Wales, and in a veri cleere day a manne may see from hit a part of Malvern Hilles, and Glocestre, and Bristow, and part of Devenshir and Cornwale. Ther be divers other hilles by Artures hille, the wich, with hit, be communely caullid Banne Brekeniauc." Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 70.

Mountains of Talgarth and Ewyas.—The first of these are now styled the Black Mountains, of which the Gadair Fawr is the principal, and is only secondary to the Van in height. The Black Mountains are an extensive range of hills rising to the east of Talgarth, in the several parishes of Talgarth, Llaneliew, and Llanigorn, in the county of Brecknock, and connected with the heights of Ewyas: the most elevated point is called Y Gadair, and excepting the Brecknock

Van (the Cadair Arthur of Giraldus), is esteemed the highest mountain in South Wales. The mountains of Ewyas are those now called the Hatterel Hills, rising above the monastery of Lanthoni, and joining the Black Mountains of Talgarth at Capel y Ffin, or the chapel upon the boundary, near which the counties of Hereford, Brecknock, and Monmouth form a point of union. But English writers have generally confounded all distinction, calling them indiscriminately the Black Mountains, or the Hatterel Hills. The dissensions here alluded to by our author, as subsisting between the inhabitants of these neighbouring districts, were perhaps the remains of those ancient heart-burnings, which subsisted between the native princes of Gwentland and Brycheiniog, respecting the possession of the territories of Ystradwy and Ewyas (the first comprehending a part of the present hundred of Talgarth, and the hundred of Crickhowel, and the other extending into Herefordshire), which was strongly contested between them in long and bloody wars, but was at last, by the mediation of Edgar King of England, conceded to the former power. Mr. Wynne (page 58, edit. 1774) quotes an ancient MS. then existing at Llandaff, called *Cwitta Cyfarwydd o Forgannwg*, or a brief history of Glamorgan, in which Ystradwy and Ewyas are called the “two sleeves of Gwent Uwchcoed;” and Mr. Owen, in his *Archæology* lately published, gives a copy of this document in the Welsh language.

CHAPTER III.

EWYAS AND LANTHONI.

IN the deep vale of Ewyas, which is about an arrow-shot broad, encircled on all sides by lofty mountains, stands the church of Saint John the Baptist, covered with lead, and an arched roof of stone; and, considering the nature of the place, not unhandsomely constructed, on the very spot where the humble chapel of David the Archbishop had formerly stood, decorated only with moss and ivy. A situation truly calculated for religion, and more adapted to canonical discipline, than all the monasteries of the British isle. It was founded by two hermits, in honour of the retired life, far removed from the bustle of mankind, in a solitary vale watered by the river Hodeni. From Hodeni it was called Lanhodeni, for Lan signifies an ecclesiastical place. This derivation may appear far-fetched, for the name of the place in Welsh, is Nanthodeni. Nant signifies a running stream, from whence this place is still called by the inhabitants, Landewi Nanthodeni, or the church of Saint David upon the river Hodeni. The English therefore corruptly call it Lanthoni, whereas it should either be called Nanthodeni, that is, the brook of the Hodeni, or Lanhodeni, the church upon the Hodeni. Owing to its mountainous situation, the rains are frequent, the winds boisterous, and the clouds in winter almost continual. The air, though heavy, is healthy; and diseases are so rare, that the brotherhood, when

worn out by long toil and affliction during their residence with the daughter, retiring to this asylum, and to their mother's¹ lap, soon regain their long wished for health: for as my topographical history of Ireland testifies, in proportion as we proceed to the eastward, the face of the sky is more pure and subtile, and the air more piercing and inclement; but as we draw nearer to the westward, the air becomes more cloudy, but at the same time is more temperate and healthy. Here the monks, sitting in their cloisters, enjoying the fresh air, when they happen to look up towards the horizon, behold the tops of the mountains as it were touching the heavens, and herds of wild deer feeding on their summits: the body of the sun does not become visible above the heights of the mountains, even in serene weather, till about the first hour, or a little before.* A spot truly fitted for contemplation, a happy and delightful spot, fully competent, from its first establishment, to supply all its own wants, had not the extravagance of English luxury, the pride of a sumptuous table, the increasing growth of intemperance and ingratitude, added to the negligence of its patrons and prelates, reduced it from freedom to servility; and if the step-daughter, no less enviously than odiously, had not supplanted her mother.

It seems worthy of remark, that all the priors who were hostile to this establishment, died by divine visitation. William,³ who first

¹ The titles of mother and daughter are here applied to the mother church in Wales and the daughter near Gloucester.

² This passage in the original text, always appeared to me obscure and inexplicable: "*Hora verò diei quasi inter primam et tertiam super montium cacumina vix emergens, et sereno tempore, corpus hic solare primo conspicitur.*" But on referring to the various MS. copies of Giraldus in the British Museum, I found the meaning fully solved, by the following alteration of the Latin text; "*Circa primam vel parum ante.*"

³ William of Wycumb, the fourth prior of Lanthoni, succeeded to Robert de Braci,

despoiled the place of its herds and storehouses, being deposed by the fraternity, forfeited his right of sepulture amongst the priors. Clement seemed to like this place of study and prayer, yet after the example of Heli the priest, as he neither reprov'd nor restrained his brethren from plunder and other offences, died by a paralytic stroke. And Roger, who was more an enemy to this place than either of his predecessors, and openly carried away every thing which they had left behind, wholly robbing the church of its books, ornaments, and privileges, was also struck with a paralytic affection long before his death, resigned his honours, and lingered out the remainder of his days in sickness.

In the reign of King Henry the First, when the mother church was as celebrated for her affluence as for her sanctity (two qualities which are seldom found thus united), the daughter not yet being in existence (and I sincerely wish she never had been produced); the fame of so much religion attracted hither Roger Bishop of Salisbury, who was at that time prime minister; for it is virtue to love virtue, even in another man, and a great proof of innate goodness to show a detestation of those vices, which hitherto have not been avoided. When he had reflected with admiration on the nature of the place, the solitary life of the fraternity, living in canonical obedience, and serving God without a murmur or complaint, he returned to the king, and related to him what he thought most worthy of remark; and after spending the greater part of the day in the praises of this place, he finished his panegyric with these words: “ Why should I

who was obliged to quit the monastery, on account of the hostile molestation it received from the natives. To him succeeded Clement, the sub-prior, and to Clement, Roger de Norwich.

say more? the whole treasure of the king and his kingdom would not be sufficient to build such a cloister;" having held the minds of the king and the court for a long time in suspense by this assertion, he at length explained the enigma, by saying that he alluded to the cloister of mountains, by which this church is on every side surrounded. But William, a soldier, who first discovered this place, and his companion Ervistus, a priest, having heard, perhaps, as it is written in the Fathers, according to the opinion of Jerom, " that the church of Christ decreased in virtues, as it increased in riches," were often used devoutly to solicit the Lord, that this place might never attain great possessions. They were exceedingly concerned when this religious foundation began to be enriched by its first lord and patron, Hugh de Lacy, and by the lands and ecclesiastical benefices conferred upon it by the bounty of others of the faithful; from their predilection to poverty, they rejected many offers of manors and churches; and being situated in a wild spot, they would not suffer the thick and wooded parts of the valley to be cultivated and levelled, lest they should be tempted to recede from their hermitical mode of life.

But whilst the establishment of the mother church increased daily in riches and endowments, availing herself of the hostile state of the country, a rival daughter sprang up at Gloucester, under the protection of Milo Earl of Hereford; as if by divine providence, and through the merits of the saints, and prayers of those holy men (of whom two lie buried before the high altar), it were destined that the daughter church should be founded in superfluities, whilst the mother continued in that laudable state of mediocrity which she had always affected and coveted. Let the active therefore reside

there, the contemplative here ; there the pursuit of terrestrial riches, here the love of celestial delights ; there let them enjoy the concourse of men, here the presence of angels ; there let the powerful of this world be entertained, here let the poor of Christ be relieved ; there, I say, let human actions and declamations be heard, but here let reading and prayers be heard only in whispers ; there let opulence, the parent and nurse of vice, increase with cares ; here let the virtuous and golden mean be all sufficient. In both places the canonical discipline instituted by Augustine, which is now distinguished above all other Orders, is observed ; for the Benedictines, when their wealth was increased by the fervour of charity, and multiplied by the bounty of the faithful, under the pretext of a bad dispensation, corrupted by gluttony and indulgence, an Order, which in its original state of poverty was held in high estimation. The Cistercian Order, derived from the former, at first deserved praise and commendation from its adhering voluntarily to the original vows of poverty and sanctity ; until ambition, the blind mother of mischief, unable to fix bounds to prosperity, was introduced ; for, as Seneca says, “ Too great happiness makes men greedy, nor are their desires ever so temperate, as to terminate in what is acquired : ” a step is made from great things to greater, and men having attained what they did not expect, form the most unbounded hopes ; to which the poet Ovid thus alludes :

“ Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis,
 Nec facile est æquâ commoda mente pati :
 Creverunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido,
 Et cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.”

And also the poet Horace :

“ — — — — scilicet improbæ
Crescunt divitiæ, tamen
Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei.
Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
Majorumque fames.”

To which purpose the poet Lucan says :

“ — — — — O vitæ tuta facultas
Pauperis, angustique lares, O munera nondum
Intellecta Deûm !”

And Petronius :

“ Non bibit inter aquas, nec poma fugacia carpit,
Tantalus infelix, quem sua vota premunt.
Divitis hic magni facies erit, omnia late
Qui tenet, et sicco concoquit ore famem.”

The mountains are full of herds and horses, the woods well stored with swine and goats, the pastures with sheep, the plains with cattle, the arable fields with ploughs; and although these things in very deed are in great abundance, yet each of them, from the insatiable nature of the mind, seems too narrow and scanty: therefore lands are seized, landmarks removed, boundaries invaded, and the markets in consequence abound with merchandise, the courts of justice with law-suits, and the senate with complaints: concerning such things, we read in Isaiah, “ Woe unto them that join house to house, that

lay field to field, till there be no place, that they be placed alone in the midst of the earth."

If therefore the prophet inveighs so much against those who proceed to the boundaries, what would he say to those who go far beyond them? From these and other causes, the true colour of religion was so converted into the dye of falsehood, that manners internally black assumed a fair appearance :

" Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo."

So that the Scripture seems to be fulfilled concerning these men, " Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves." But I am inclined to think this avidity does not proceed from any bad intention; for the monks of this Order (although themselves most abstemious) incessantly exercise, more than any others, the acts of charity and beneficence towards the poor and strangers; and because they do not live as others do upon fixed incomes, but depend only on their labour and fore-thought for subsistence, they are anxious to obtain lands, farms, and pastures, which may enable them to perform these acts of hospitality. However, to repress and remove from this sacred Order the detestable stigma of ambition, I wish they would sometimes call to mind what is written in Ecclesiasticus, " Whoso bringeth an offering of the goods of the poor, doth as one that killeth the son before his father's eyes:" and also the sentiment of Gregory, " A good use does not justify things badly acquired;" and also that of Ambrose, " He who wrongfully receives, that he may well dispense is rather burthened than assisted;" such men seem to say with the Apostle; " Let us do evil that good may come:" for it is written,

“ Mercy ought to be of such a nature as may be received, not rejected, which may purge away sins, not make a man guilty before the Lord, arising from your own just labours, not those of other men:” hear what Solomon says; “ Honour the Lord from your just labours.” What shall they say who have seized upon other men’s possessions, and exercised charity? “ O Lord! in thy name we have done charitable deeds, we have fed the poor, clothed the naked, and hospitably received the stranger:” to whom the Lord will answer: “ Ye speak of what ye have given away, but speak not of the rapine ye have committed; ye relate concerning those ye have fed, and ye remember not those ye have killed.” I have judged it proper to insert in this place an instance of an answer which King Richard made to Fulke, a good and holy man, by whom God in these our days has wrought many signs in the kingdom of France. This man had among other things said to the King; “ You have three daughters, namely, Pride, Luxury, and Avarice, and as long as they shall remain with you, you can never expect to be in favour with God.” To which the King, after a short pause, replied: I have already given away those daughters in marriage, Pride to the Templars, Luxury to the Black Monks, and Avarice to the White.” It is a remarkable circumstance, or rather a miracle, concerning Lanthoni, that, although it is on every side surrounded by lofty mountains, not stony or rocky, but of a soft nature, and covered with grass, that Parian stones are frequently found there, and are called free-stones, from the facility with which they admit of being cut and polished; and with these the church is beautifully built. It is also wonderful, that when after a diligent search all the stones have been removed from the mountains, and no more can be found; upon another search

a few days afterwards, they re-appear in greater quantities to those who seek them. With respect to the two Orders, the Cluniac and the Cistercian, this may be relied upon; although the latter are possessed of fine buildings, with ample revenues and estates, they will soon be reduced to poverty and destruction. To the former, on the contrary, you would allot a barren desert and a solitary wood; yet in a few years, you will find them in possession of sumptuous churches and houses, and encircled with an extensive property. The difference of manners (as it appears to me) causes this contrast. For, as without meaning offence to either party, I shall speak the truth; the one feels the benefits of sobriety, parsimony, and prudence, whilst the other suffers from the bad effects of gluttony and intemperance; the one, like bees, collect their stores into an heap, and unanimously agree in the disposal of one well-regulated purse; the others pillage and divert to improper uses the largesses which have been collected by divine assistance, and by the bounties of the faithful; and whilst each individual consults solely his own interest, the welfare of the community suffers; since, as Sallust observes, "Small things increase by concord, and the greatest are wasted by discord." Besides, sooner than lessen the number of one of the thirteen or fourteen dishes which they claim by right of custom, or even in a time of scarcity or famine recede in the smallest degree from their accustomed good fare, they would suffer the richest lands and the best buildings of the monastery to become a prey to usury, and the numerous poor to perish before their gates.

The first of these Orders, at a time when there was a deficiency in grain, with a laudable charity, not only gave away their flocks and herds, but resigned to the poor, one of the two dishes with which

they were always contented. But in these our days, in order to remove this stain, it is ordained by the Cistercians, " That in future neither farms nor pastures shall be purchased ; and they shall be satisfied with those alone which have been freely and unconditionally bestowed upon them." This Order, therefore, being satisfied more than any other with humble mediocrity, and if not wholly, yet in a great degree checking their ambition ; and though placed in a worldly situation, yet avoiding, as much as possible, its contagion, neither notorious for gluttony or drunkenness, for luxury or lust, is fearful and ashamed of incurring public scandal, as will be more fully explained in the book we mean (by the grace of God) to write concerning the ecclesiastical Orders.

In these temperate regions, I have obtained (according to the usual expression) a place of dignity, but no great omen of future pomp or riches ; and possessing a small residence³ near the castle of Brecheinoc, well adapted to literary pursuits, and to the contemplation of eternity, I envy not the riches of Cræsus ; happy and contented with that mediocrity, which I prize far beyond all the perishable and transitory things of this world.

³ This small residence of the Archdeacon was at Landeu, a place which has been before described : the author takes this opportunity of hinting at his love of literature, religion, and mediocrity.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER III.

IF we consider the circumstances of this chapter, it will appear very evidently that the Vale of Ewyas made no part of the present Itinerary. Our author having in his last chapter noticed the mountains of Ewyas as forming a part of the boundaries of Brecknockshire, takes the opportunity of introducing to his readers the monastery of Lanthoni, which is situated in the vale. He begins the chapter, "*Stat autem in valle de Ewyas.*" But, by the by, in the vale of Ewyas stands the monastery of Lanthoni, &c.; and having indulged his talent in a style equally picturesque and accurate, adding some keen reflections on the monastic life and institutions, he mentions his own dignity of Archdeacon, and residence near Brecknock, and concludes with these words, "*Sed ad rem revertamur.*" But now to our point; thus clearly proving, both by the beginning and end of this chapter, that the whole is a digression from their intended route.

Landewi Nant Hodeni—or the Church of Saint David on the Hodni, is now better known by the name of Lanthoni abbey. This monastery is situated in the northern part of Monmouthshire, on the banks of the little river Hodni, and in the secluded vale of Ewyas. A small and rustic chapel, dedicated to Saint David, at first occupied the site of this abbey: in the year 1103, William de Laci, a Norman knight, having renounced the pleasures of the world, retired to this sequestered spot, where he was joined in his austere profession by Ernicus, Chaplain to Queen Mawd. In the year 1108 these

hermits erected a mean church in the place of their hermitage, which was consecrated by Urban Bishop of Landaf, and Rameline Bishop of Hereford, and dedicated to Saint John the Baptist : having afterwards received very considerable benefactions from Hugh de Laci, and gained the consent of Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, these same hermits founded a magnificent monastery for Black Canons, of the order of Saint Augustine, which they immediately filled with forty monks collected from the monasteries of the Holy Trinity in London, Merton in Surrey, and Colchester in Essex. Ernicius, who was chosen the first prior of the newly established monastery, is described by Dugdale, as “ Creber in oratione, strenuus in vigiliis, assiduus in jejuniis, in suscipiendis hospitibus devotus ; forma autem gregis per omnia factus ; quod verbis docuit, operibus corroboravit.”

Robert de Betun succeeded to him, but was removed to Hereford, and consecrated bishop of that see in the month of June 1131. He died there, in the year 1148, and was buried against the south wall of that cathedral. From a note in Bishop Godwin's account of the bishops of this diocese, it appears that Robert de Betun was nominated by the king in 1129, but not consecrated till 1131. “ Nominatus est a rege A. D. 1129, sed non consecratus usque ad annum 1131.”

Robert de Braci was the third prior of this abbey ; during his time the peace and tranquillity of this religious establishment was so completely destroyed, by the continual incursions and depredations of the neighbouring Welsh, that the residence became insupportable : he applied to Robert de Betun, his predecessor, for advice and relief on behalf of his distressed brethren. The feelings and conduct of

the bishop on this melancholy occasion are so truly pathetic and charitable, that I shall give them in the words of his biographer : “ Singulariter autem succurrebat animo, graviusque torquebat conventus Lanthoniæ inter barbaras gentes deprehensus. Audit spoliatos semel et secundò. Audit victualia jejunis defecisse, nec alia jam posse tuto convectari. Dolet, anxiatur, luget, tanquam omnes trucidasset. Ascivit ad se conventum, tradidit eis domos suas, capellam, horrea, cellaria, cæterasque necessareas officinas, redditus insuper episcopales, quantum necessitatibus eorum sufficere possit. Interim quæsivit et invenit eis locum habitationis apud Glocestriam, expensas dedit ad ædificandum. Secundo anno transtulit illuc conventum.”

Many other particulars concerning Robert de Betun may be found in his life, written by William de Wycumb, Prior of Lanthoni, and printed by Warton in his *Anglia Sacra*, from which I shall select another anecdote, as relating to the convent of Lanthoni. On his promotion to the see of Hereford, he is said to have quitted his retirement with reluctance ; and on reaching the summit of the Hatterel hills, and looking back to the sanctuary he had left, he burst into a flood of tears, and could with difficulty be removed from the spot :^a his steady partiality and affection to the community of which he was once a member, were amply exemplified by his generous and charitable conduct towards it during the period of its distress. The spot assigned to these monks by Earl Milo, on the intercession of

^a Recedimus tandem luctuosi quidem et suspirantes ; sed cum verticem Hatiræ montis vir sanctus attigisset, et locum sanctum post se respexisset ; tum demum lacrymis et singultibus temperare non potuit, visus sibi tanquam Adam de paradiso pulsus in exilio, vix loco abstrahitur, vix conquiescit, sed inductis de industriâ variis consultationibus, commeantes mentem occupant, donec montem transmisisset. Warton, Tom. II. p. 305.

Robert de Betun, was called Hyde, and in the charter, Castele Mede, and is situated at a short distance from the city of Gloucester, on the banks of the river Severn. Here they built a church and spacious monastery, which, after the name of their former residence, they called Lanthoni: it was consecrated A. D. 1136, by Simon Bishop of Worcester, and Robert Betun Bishop of Hereford, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Till the reign of King Edward the Fourth, this monastery could only be deemed a cell to the mother church in Wales, though great preference was shewn to it, as a residence, both by the prior and his canons. Clement, however, the fifth Prior of Lanthoni, who succeeded William de Wycumb, still held the mother church in such reverence, that he obliged the greater part of his canons (much against their inclination) to reside there with him for a whole year, leaving thirteen only behind him in the convent near Gloucester.

Browne Willis mentions the names of twenty-eight priors of Lanthoni near Gloucester. Henry Dean was prior in the reign of King Edward the Fourth, when the two convents were united by a royal charter: the same author records, that in the year 1543, John Ambrose, prior, John Neleland, and three others, subscribed to the supremacy. Richard Hempsted, the twenty-eighth prior, whom Anthony Wood calls Hart, with William Nottingham, and twenty-one others, subscribed to the king's supremacy in September, 1534, and afterwards signed the surrender in May, 1539, with the like number of monks, and obtained a pension of £100. per annum.

The following interesting charters and grants, relating to these convents, are preserved by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*:

1. Charter of Milo, Constable of Gloucester.

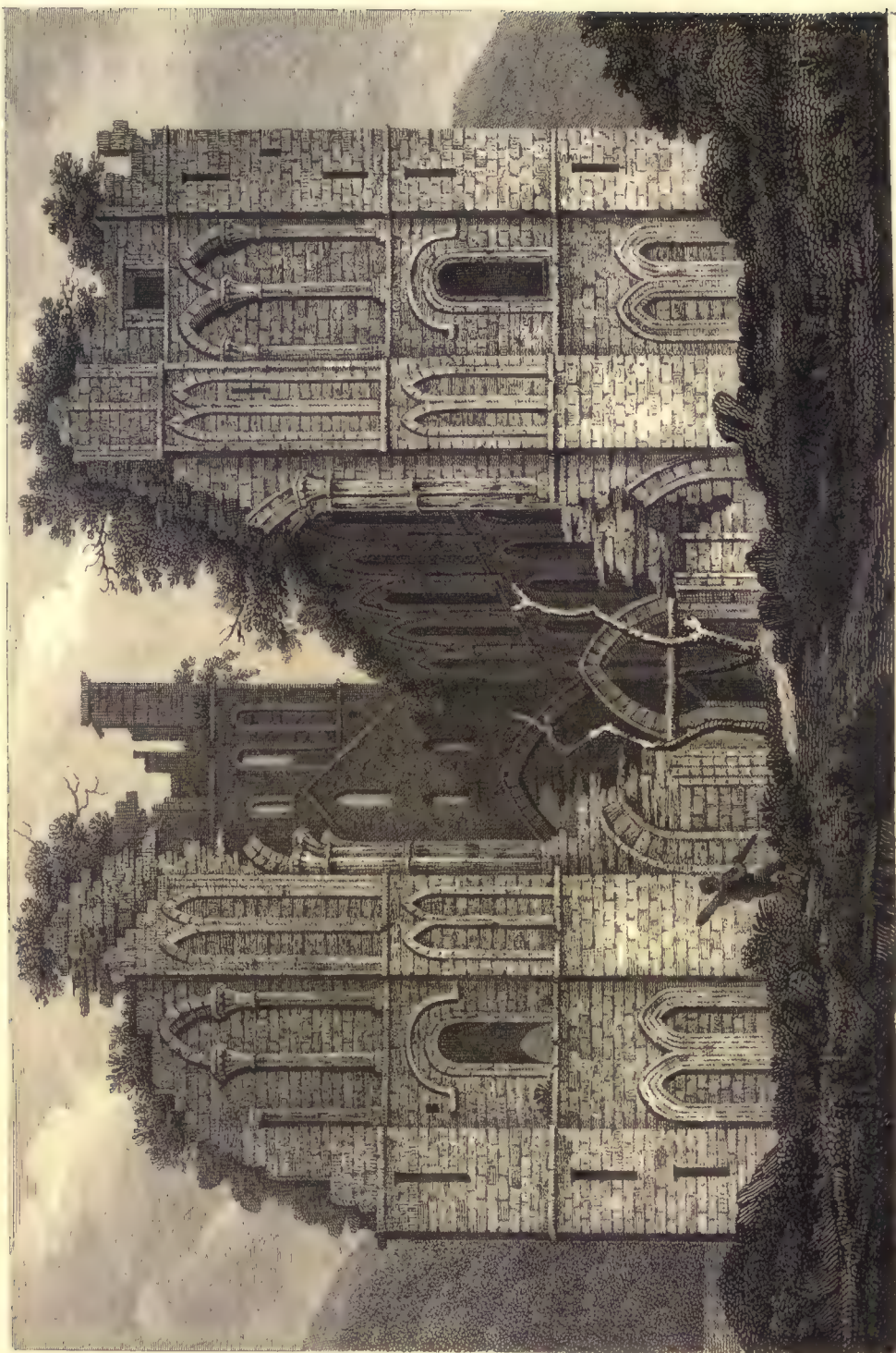
2. Charter of King John, confirming the grants of several benefactors.

3. Charter of Walter, confirming the grants of his father Hugh de Laci.

4. Charter of King Edward the Second, confirming the grants of the Laci family, and others.

5. Charter of King Edward the Fourth, uniting the mother church in Wales, with the daughter at Gloucester.

This last act recites, " That owing to the depredations committed on the convent by the neighbouring inhabitants, and the frequent removal of the priors, and other members of the convent, the religious functions were negligently performed, and acts of charity and hospitality to strangers no longer exercised ; also, " That as John Adams, the prior, had profusely squandered away the revenues of the church, maintaining only four canons besides himself, who paid no attention to the holy duties of the establishment ; and whereas all due regard and reverence were paid to the sacred offices of the church by the members of the monastery of Lanthoni near Gloucester ; the king hereby grants all the lands both in England, Wales, and Ireland, appertaining to the convent of Lanthoni in Wales, to the Prior of Lanthoni near Gloucester, to have and to hold for ever, on the payment of a fine of three hundred marks, and on condition that he maintains an establishment (dative and removable at will) of a prior and four canons at the mother church, for the purpose of performing religious service and mass for the souls of its founders." Thus, in the short period of thirty years, we see the simple chapel of Saint David transmuted into a spacious and elegant abbey ; that same building nearly deserted, and another still more magnificent, erected



LLANTHONY.

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See also 'C. House' del.

and translated from the solitary banks of the little river Hodni, to the rich and luxuriant shores of the Severn. Of both these monasteries, there are remains now existing; but the mother still retains her venerable and respectable superiority over the daughter, though within these few years she has suffered much from the dilapidations of time, but more from the inattention of her patrons. When my friend and countryman, Mr. Wyndham, made the tour of Wales, in the year 1777, the eastern front of the abbey was standing, but is since fallen, and its design is now only preserved by the view engraven of it in his book. When I accompanied Mr. Coxe in the year 1800, to make drawings for his *Historical Tour through Monmouthshire*, the western front still retained its exterior elegance:^b in the year 1801, one of the fine windows gave way; and in the year 1803, I was a mournful eye witness, not only of the total downfall of the three windows, which composed the principal ornament of this front, but of some modern architectural innovations, highly injurious to the picturesque appearance of this venerable structure. It is a melancholy reflection to the traveller, who repeats at certain intervals his visits to the many interesting spots selected by our ancestors, either for military or religious establishments, that at each visit he will most probably find them progressively verging to decay. But Lanthoni, even amidst its ruins, will supply the artist with many fine subjects for his pencil, and furnish ample matter of inquiry and investigation to the architect and antiquarian. From the certain data we have of its first construction, about the year 1108, and subsequent

^b I think myself fortunate to have rescued, in some degree, from oblivion, the fine ruins of this once celebrated abbey, by the many and varied sketches I have taken of it, five of which are engraved in Mr. Coxe's *Tour*.

desertion in 1136, we are enabled to ascertain the style of architecture then adopted in monastic buildings, as there can be little doubt but that the ruins we now see are those of the original abbey. The church presents in its architecture a regular mixture of the round and pointed arches, vulgarly distinguished by the words Saxon and Gothic. The lofty turret (which threatens a speedy downfall) is Saxon; the rich western front, mixed; the northern side nearly all Saxon; the arches in the nave are Gothic, and the upper story is Saxon. The daughter church near Gloucester, in point of rich architectural remains, has little to boast of, nor do I think it was ever so elegant in its parts as the mother church; luxury and convenience were probably more consulted in its construction, than external shew and decoration. A magnificent and well built grainge of fine stone, with Gothic doorways, and part of an entrance gateway, on which are three escutcheons of arms, mark the ancient site and existence of this celebrated monastery.*

Roger—Matthew Parker informs us, that Roger was the third bishop of Salisbury, A. D. 1107: and the following anecdote is recorded of him by the said author: “It happened that Prince Henry (afterwards king) when accompanying his brother William on some military expedition, diverged to a certain church situated in the suburbs of the town of Caen in Normandy, in order to attend divine service with his fellow soldiers. Roger at this time served the church on a very small salary, and well aware in what manner religious ceremonies were relished by soldiers, he expedited them with such celebrity, that he had finished saying mass, when some of his auditors

* A view of this gateway is given by Mr. Lysons, amongst his etchings of buildings and monuments in Gloucestershire.

thought he had but just began. All with one accord exclaimed, "That so accommodating a priest for soldiers could no where be found:" upon which the prince, in a jocular manner, encouraged him to follow his camp, which he willingly did, and thus paved his way to the great honours which he afterwards received from King Henry the First."

Walter de Laci—Came into England with William the Conqueror, and left three sons, Roger, Hugh, and Walter. About that period when several Norman lords obtained leave from William to invade Wales; when Robert Fitzhamon had been successful in the conquest of Glamorganshire, and Bernard Newmarch in that of the lordship of Brecknock; Hugh de Laci gained the adjoining province of Ewyas, and became afterwards the founder of the convent of Lanthoni; his elder brother, Robert, held also four caracutes of land within the limits of the castle of Ewyas, which King William had bestowed on Walter his father; but joining in rebellion against William Rufus, he was banished the kingdom, and all his lands were given to his brother Hugh, who died without issue. This great inheritance devolved on his two sisters, Emmeline, who had no children, and Emme, who took to husband, by whom she had a son named Gilbert, who assumed the name of Laci. From him descended Hugh de Laci, who for his steady adherence to King Henry the Second (who was then at variance with his son), and for services done in Ireland, obtained a grant of the whole territory of Meath, with its appurtenances, to hold for himself and his heirs by the service of fifty knights fees, in as ample a manner as Murchard Hugh Melachlin enjoyed the same. He was murdered in Ireland, A. D. 1185, leaving issue two sons, Walter and Hugh.

His eldest son Walter, amongst many other acts of piety, confirmed to the canons of Lanthoni all those lands and churches in Ireland given to them by Hugh de Laci, his father; and of his own bounty gave them the church of our Lady at Drogheda in that realm, as also the whole valley wherein the abbey of Lanthoni is situated, viz. from Kenentesset and Askareswey by the Ruggewey to Antefin, and from Haterell, from the land of Seisil Fitz-Gilbert, by the Ruggewey to the bounds of Talgarth. He married Margaret, daughter of William de Braose, of Brecknock, and in the year 1241 (25 Henry III.), being then infirm and blind, departed this life, (as Matthew Paris says) “*Vir inter omnes nobiles Hiberniæ eminentissimus.*”

Fulke—This anecdote is thus related by the historian Hollinshed: “Hereof it came on a time, whiles the king sojourned in France about his warres, which he held against King Philip, there came unto him a French priest, whose name was Fulco, who required the king in anywise to put from him three abominable daughters which he had, and to bestow them in marriage, least God punished him for them.” “Thou liest, hypocrite (said the king), to thy verie face; for all the world knoweth that I have not one daughter.” “I lie not (said the priest), for thou hast three daughters, one of them is called Pride, the second Covetousnesse, and the third Lecherie.” With that the king called to him his lords and barons, and said to them, “This hypocrite heere hath required me to marrie awaie my three daughters, which (as he saith) I cherish, nourish, foster, and mainteine; that is to say, Pride, Covetousnesse, and Lecherie: and now that I have found out necessary and fit husbands for them, I will do it with effect, and seeke no more delaies. I therefore bequeath my pride to

the high-minded Templars and Hospitallers, which are as proud as Lucifer himselfe; my covetousnesse I give unto the White Monks, otherwise called of the Cisteaux Order, for they covet the divell and all; my lecherie I commit to the Prelats of the church, who have most pleasure and felicitie therein."

CHAPTER IV.

COED GRONO AND ABERGEVENNI.

FROM thence we proceeded through the narrow woody tract called the bad pass of Coed Grono, leaving the noble monastery of Lanthoni, inclosed by its mountains, on our left. The castle of Abergevenni is so called from its situation at the confluence of the river Gevenni with the Usk.

A short time after the death of King Henry the First, Richard de Clare, a nobleman of high birth, and lord of Cardiganshire, passed this way on his journey from England into Wales, accompanied by Brian of Wallingford, lord of this province, and many of his soldiers. At the passage of Coed Grono, and at the entrance into the wood, he dismissed him and his attendants, though much against their will, and proceeded on his journey unarmed ; from too great a presumption of security, preceded only by a minstrel and a singer, who played and sang alternately. The Welsh awaiting his arrival, with Jorwerth brother of Morgan of Caerleon at their head, and others of his family, rushed upon him unawares from the thickets, and killed him and many of his followers. Thus it appears how incautious and neglectful of itself is too great presumption : for fear teaches foresight and caution in prosperity ; but audacity is precipitate, and inconsiderate rashness will not wait the advice of the leader.

A sermon having been delivered at Abergevenni, and many persons

converted to the cross, a certain nobleman of those parts, named Arthenus, came to the Archbishop, who was proceeding towards the castle of Usk, and humbly begged pardon for having neglected to meet him sooner. Being questioned whether he would take the cross, he replied, "That could not be done without the advice of his friends:" the Archbishop then asked him, "Are you not going to consult your wife?" he modestly answered with a downcast look, "When the work of a man is to be undertaken, the counsel of a woman ought not to be asked;" and instantly received the cross from the Archbishop.

We leave to others the relation of those frequent and cruel excesses which in our times have arisen amongst the inhabitants of these parts, against the governors of castles, and the vindictive retaliations of the governors against the natives. But King Henry the Second was the true author, and Ranulph Poer, Sheriff of Hereford, the instrument, of the enormous cruelties and slaughter perpetrated here in our days, which I thought better to omit, lest bad men should be induced to follow the example; for although temporary advantage may seem to arise from a base cause, yet by the balance of a righteous judge, the punishment of wickedness may be deferred though not totally avoided, according to the words of the poet,

"Non habet eventus sordida præda bonos."

For after seven years of peace and tranquillity, the sons and grandsons of the deceased, having attained the age of manhood, took advantage of the absence of the lord of the castle (Abergevenni), and, burning with revenge, concealed themselves, with no inconsiderable force, during the night, within the woody foss of the castle.

One of them, named Sitsylt ap Eudaf, on the preceding day said rather jocularly to the constable, "Here will we enter this night," pointing out to him a certain angle in the wall where it seemed the lowest; but since

" ————— Ridendo dicere verum

" Quis vetat?"

and

" ————— fas est et ab hoste doceri,"

the constable and his household watched all night under arms, till at length worn out by fatigue, they retired to rest on the appearance of daylight, upon which the enemy attacked the walls with scaling ladders, at the very place that had been pointed out; the constable and his wife were taken prisoners, with many others; a few persons only escaping, who had sheltered themselves in the principal tower. The enemy violently seized and burned every thing; and thus by the righteous judgment of God, the crime was punished in the very place where it had been committed. A short time after the taking of this fortress, when the aforesaid sheriff was building a castle at Landinegat' near Monmouth, with the assistance of the army he had brought from Hereford, he was attacked at break of day, by the young men from Gwent and the adjacent parts, with the descendants of those who had been slain. Though aware of this premeditated

² Landinegat, or the church of St. Dingad, is now better known by the name of Dingatstow, a village near Monmouth, of which Mr. Heath gives the following account: "The castle was situated on the north side of the church, and in the memory of man a remaining part was inhabited by a farmer of the name of Anthony; but it has since been pulled down, and the stones hauled away to mend the turnpike road, so that a vestige of it does not now remain, nor is the site but partially remembered. See Preface to Heath's History of Ragland Castle, p. 12.

attack, and prepared and drawn up in battle array, they were nevertheless repulsed within their intrenchments, and the sheriff, together with nine of the chief men of Hereford, and many others, were pierced to death with lances. It is remarkable, that although Ranulph, besides many other mortal wounds, had the veins and arteries of his neck, and his windpipe separated with a sword, he made signs for a priest, and from the merit of his past life, and the honour and veneration he had shewn to those chosen into the sacred order of Christ, he was confessed, and received extreme unction before he died : and indeed many events concur to prove that as those who respect the priesthood, in their latter days enjoy the satisfaction of friendly intercourse, so do their revilers and accusers often die without that consolation. William de Breusa, who was not the author of the crime we have chosen to pass over in silence, but the executioner, or rather not the preventer of its execution, while the murderous bands were fulfilling the orders they had received, was precipitated into a deep foss, and being taken by the enemy, was drawn forth, and by a sudden effort of his own troops, and by divine mercy, escaped uninjured. Hence it is evident that he who offends in a less degree, and unwillingly permits a thing to be done, is more mildly punished than he who adds counsel and authority to his act. Thus in the sufferings of Christ, Judas was punished with hanging, the Jews with destruction and banishment, and Pilate with exile. But the end of the king who assented to and ordered this treachery, sufficiently manifested in what manner, on account of this and many other enormities he had committed (as in the book “*De Instructione Principis*,” by God’s guidance, we shall set forth), he began with accumulated ignominy, sorrow, and confusion, to suffer punishment in this world.

It seems worthy of remark, that the people of Gwent-land² are more accustomed to war, more famous for valour, and more expert in archery, than those of any other part of Wales: the following examples prove the truth of this assertion. In the last assault of the aforesaid castle, which happened in our days, two soldiers passing over a bridge to a tower built on a mound of earth, in order to take the Welsh in the rear, penetrated with their arrows the oaken portal, which was four fingers thick; in memory of which circumstance the arrows were preserved in the gate. William de Breusa also testifies that one of his soldiers, in a conflict with the Welsh, was wounded by an arrow, which pierced his armour doubly coated with iron, and passing through his hip, entered the saddle, and mortally wounded the horse. Another soldier, equally well guarded with armour, had his hip penetrated by an arrow quite to the saddle, and on turning his horse round, received a similar wound in the opposite hip, which fixed him on both sides to his seat. What more could be expected from a balista? Yet the bows used by this people are not made of horn, ivory, or yew, but of wild elm; unpolished, rude, and uncouth, but stout; not calculated to shoot an arrow to a great distance, but to inflict very severe wounds in close fight.

But let us again return to our Itinerary.

² Leland divides this district into Low, Middle, and High Venteland, extending from Chepstow to Newport on one side, and to Abergevenni on the other; the latter of which, he says, "maketh the cumpace of Hye Venteland;" he adds, "The soyle of al Venteland is of a darke reddische yerth ful of slaty stones, and other greater of the same color. The countrey is also sumwhat montayneus, and welle replenishid with woodes, also very fertile of corne, but men there study more to pastures, the which be well inclosed." Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 6.

Ancient Gwentland is now comprised within the county of Monmouth.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER IV.

THE last chapter having been wholly digressive, and the greater part of the preceding one taken up with general description, anecdote, and legendary tales, we must now recur back to Brecknock, or rather perhaps to our author's residence at Landeu, where we left him, and from thence accompany him to Abergavenny. But in doing this (as he did not pursue the common route through the vale of Usk, and by Crickhowel) we should undoubtedly have met with much difficulty, had not his own accuracy of description pointed out to us such certain marks, as might enable posterity, even at this remote period, to retrace his footsteps through a wild, intricate, and desert tract of country, and but little known even to the present generation. It appears then, that from Landeu he took the road to Talgarth,^a from whence, climbing up a steep ascent, now called Rhiw Cwnstabl, or the Constable's ascent, he crossed the black mountains of Llaneliew to the source of the Gronwy-fawr river, which rises in that eminence, and pursues its rapid course into the vale of Usk. From thence a rugged and uneven track descends suddenly into a narrow glen, formed by the torrent of the Gronwy, between steep impending mountains; bleak and barren for the first four or five miles, but afterwards wooded to the very margin of the stream. A high ledge of grassy hills on the left hand, of which the principal is

^a Talgarth is a small village a little to the SE of the road leading from Brecknock to Hay.

called the Bal, or Y Fal, divides this formidable pass (the "Malus passus" of Giraldus) from the vale of Ewyas, in which stands the noble monastery of Lanthoni "montibus suis inclusum," incircled by its mountains. The road at length emerging from this deep recess of Coed Grono, or Cwm Gronwy, the vale of the river Gronwy, crosses the river at a place called Pont Escob, or the Bishop's bridge, probably so called from this very circumstance of its having been now passed by the Archbishop and his suite, and is continued through the forest of Moel till it joins the Hereford road, about two miles from Abergavenny. The whole of this road (excepting about a quarter of a mile above Pont Escob, which has illegally been shut up by the adjoining land-owners, is still open, and travelled by the country people; but the number of ruined cottages which are now seen is a melancholy proof of the decay of population in these parts. This formidable defile is at least nine miles in length. It may, perhaps, occasion some surprise, that our most reverend missionary and his co-adjutor, quitting that easy and direct road which would have led them shortly to their wished-for point, should thus have sought for difficulties in a wild uninteresting district; but if we consider the Quixotic errand they were engaged in, and the ardent enthusiasm which animated their minds, we shall easily discern the motives. Their object (as our author tells us) was to preach the crusade in Wales, and rouse the spirit of the natives to support the banners of the cross. To do this effectually, it was necessary to explore the interior of the country,^b where that oppressed people still

^b Giraldus praising the zeal of Baldwyn, says "Qui legationis hujus occasione, et salutiferæ crucis obsequio, terram tam hispidam, tam inaccessibilem, et remotam, laudabili devotione circuevit."

maintained a kind of poor independence among the deep recesses of the mountains, from whence it would be difficult even for Norman rapacity to dislodge them. The lower lands along the banks of the Usk were held exclusively by Normans, or the immediate vassals of De Braose, the great lord of Brecon and Abergavenny, whom it was consequently unnecessary to address, as from the nature of their tenures they were bound to follow the standard of their leader, and who perhaps would have been little pleased with such interference.

Leaving our crusaders on their route to Abergavenny, I must return to the vale of the Gronwy, where, about a mile above Pont Escob, there is a wood called Coed Dias, or the Wood of Revenge. Here again, by the modern name of the place, we are enabled to fix the very spot on which Richard de Clare was murdered. The Welsh Chronicle informs us, that "A. D. 1135, Morgan ap Owen, a man of considerable quality and estate in Wales, remembering the wrong and injury he had received at the hands of Richard Fitz Gilbert, slew him, together with his son Gilbert." A personal revenge then appears to have been the motive. The name Coed Dias, or the Wood of Revenge, the deep retirement and situation of the place, close upon the banks of Gronwy, and only one mile from the forest of Moel, the territory of Brien Fitz-Count Lord of Abergavenny, who, we are told, accompanied Richard de Clare to the extent of his own demesne, "*usque ad passum predictum;*" all conspire to point out this very wood as the lurking place from whence the assassins issued to complete their barbarous purpose. It appears that the aforesaid Richard de Clare, or Fitz Gilbert, was proceeding on his journey from Nether-went into Cardiganshire, where he had two castles, one upon the banks of the river Ystwyth, a mile from Llanbadarn Vawr,

the other on the river Tivy at Cardigan; his nearest road to the former would be through Talgarth and Buel; and if he really had property on the Gronwy, (for Dugdale says his father Gilbert possessed the whole of Nether-went and one half of Grun in Wales, which may have been a territory bordering on the river Gronwy) he would naturally give that road the preference, as expecting safety amongst his own tenants.

The river Gronwy Fawr has its source in the parish of Llanelliew, from whence descending rapidly through a deep and rocky channel, it pursues a southward course, varying occasionally to humour the position of the mountains; and divides Brecknockshire from the adjoining counties of Hereford and Monmouth, near the junction of the parishes of Llanbeder and Patriss-shew, vulgarly called Patricio (a small church in a very retired situation, remarkable for a curious rood-loft admirably carved in wood), from whence it takes a sudden turn to the westward, and is soon afterwards joined by another stream called the Gronwy-fechan, or smaller Gronwy.

Richard de Clare—The first of this great and noble family was Richard, the eldest son of Gislebert, surnamed Crispin, Earl of Brion in Normandy. This Richard Fitz-Gilbert came into England with William the Conqueror, and in reward for the great assistance he gave him in that memorable battle, whereby he obtained the crown of England, received great advancement in honour and possessions. At the time of the general survey he is called Richard de Tonebrugge, from his castle at Tunbridge in Kent, which he received from the Archbishop of Canterbury in exchange for his castle at Brion in Normandy; and afterwards from some of his estates in Suffolk, he took the title of Ricardus de Clare: he married Rohais, or Rohese,

daughter of Walter Giffard Earl of Buckingham. On the death of the Conqueror, favouring the cause of Robert Curthose, he rebelled against William Rufus, but when that king appeared in arms before his castle at Tunbridge, he submitted; after which, adhering to Rufus against Robert, A. D. 1091, he was taken prisoner, and shortly after the death of King Henry the First, was assassinated on his journey through Wales, in the manner already related. History informs us that he was buried at Saint Neots in Huntingdonshire; and that he left five sons, Gilbert, Roger, Walter, Richard, and Robert.

Brian of Wallingford, called also Brien Fitz-Count, and Brien de Insula, received from his uncle Hameline, eldest son of Dru de Baladun, the castle of Abergavenny and all Over-Went, and in right of his wife Mawd, sole daughter and heiress to Robert D'Oiley, and widow of Milo Crispin, the whole honour of Wallingford; King Henry the First giving her unto him in marriage with all that her inheritance, after the death of her said husband Milo. He was strongly attached to the cause of the Empress Mawd, received her in his castle at Wallingford, assisted her in the siege of Winchester, and attended her in her flight to the castle at Devizes. Having two sons both lepers, he placed them in the priory at Abergavenny, to which he made considerable benefactions: then seized with the religious frenzy of the times, he took the cross, and went to Jerusalem, bequeathing his possessions in Over-Went, and the castle of Grosmont, to his kinsman Walter, Constable of England, who in the reign of King Henry the First, held also the castles of Gloucester and Hereford; and was buried in the chapter-house of Lanthoni abbey in Wales. This Walter had one son, named Milo, whom I have mentioned in a former note. Milo had five sons, to the second of whom, named Henry,

Walter, during the lifetime of his father, gave up the castle of Abergavenny, and all Wentland, which he held quietly in possession during the lives of his grandfather Walter, and his brothers Milo and Roger, which last dying without issue, Henry succeeded as next heir to his property, but was afterwards unfortunately killed by one of his satellites named Senell, son of Donwald, near Arnalds castle in Upper Went, and was buried in the abbey of Lanthoni in Wales; his other three brothers dying without issue, his inheritance devolved on his sisters; Margaret, who married Humphrey de Bohun, and received as her portion the earldom of Hereford: Bertha, married to Philip de Braose, Lord of Buelt, had the lordship of Brecknock, Upper Went, and Gower; and Lucia, who married Herbert, son of Henry Fitz-Herbert, Chamberlain to King Henry the First, and afterwards to King Stephen, received the forest of Dean, and other lands in England.

Abergavenny.—Hameline, son of Dru de Baladun, who came into England with William the Conqueror, was the first lord of Over-Went, and built a castle at Abergavenny on the same spot where, according to ancient tradition, a giant called Agros had erected a fortress. He died in the reign of William Rufus, and was buried in the priory which he had founded at Abergavenny: having no issue, he gave the aforesaid castle and lands to Brien de Insula, his nephew, by his sister Lucia, who disposed of them in the manner just related.

Some remains of the castle and priory are still extant; the former is more remarkable for the delightful view which its elevated terrace commands over the beautiful vale of Usk, than for the form or extent of its ruins, which are by no means picturesque: the latter may



See also p. 100

THE CHURCH

See also p. 100

be partly traced in the present parish church, which contains some very curious and costly monuments to the memory of the Herbert and other families; a particular detail of which, as well as an accurate and spirited description of the charming country round Abergavenny, may be seen in Mr. Coxe's Historical Tour through Monmouthshire.

The enormous excesses mentioned by Giraldus, as having been perpetrated in this part of Wales during his time, seem to allude to a transaction that took place in the castle of Abergavenny in the year 1176, which is thus related by two historians, Matthew Paris and Hollinshed.

A. D. 1176, "Eodem anno, Willielmus de Brausiâ multitudine Wallensium in castello de Bergamini callidè convocatâ, prohibuit, nè quis gladium ferret viator, vel arcum. Sed illis hujusmodi decreto contradicentibus, capitali omnes sententiâ condemnavit. Qui (ut prodicionis suæ nequitiam quasi sub velamine honestatis palliatam intelligas) hoc fecit in ultionem avunculi sui Henrici de Hereford, quem ipsi in Sancto Sabbato Paschæ antea peremerunt." Matt. Paris, p. 132.

A. D. 1176, The same yeare William de Breause having got a great number of Welshmen into the castle of Abergavennie, under a colourable pretext of communication, proponed this ordinance to be received of them with a corporall oth, "That no traveller by the waie amongst them should beare any bow, or other unlawfull weapon," which oth when they refused to take, because they would not stand to that ordinance, he condemned them all to death. This deceit he used towards them, in revenge of the death of his uncle Henrie of Hereford, whom upon Easter-even before, they had through treason

murthered, and were now acquitted with the like againe. Hollinshed, Tom. II. p. 95.

Our author, ever ready to inveigh against King Henry, says in one place that he was the true author, and Ranulph Poer the instrument, “*verè auctor extiterat Anglorum Rex Henricus Secundus, Vicecomes autem Herefordiæ Ranulphus Poerius machinator;*” and he afterwards endeavours to exculpate William de Braose, by alleging that he was not the author of the crime, but the executioner, “*non auctor sceleris, sed executor.*”

De Braose was in fact a desperate and a bad man, capable of committing, under a mask of piety, the most atrocious actions. Whoever reads the sad tragedy which we have just related, must deprecate the smiling villain, who in the very moment when he pretended friendship, could be guilty of so horrid an assassination. Of no less atrocity was the murder of Trahern Fychan, which he committed at Brecknock;^b and yet Giraldus has condescended to become his panegyrist, commending his piety, and labouring to transfer that load of infamy which degraded his character to the shoulders of his sovereign, whom he styles the prime author of the mischief.

Gwentland—According to the ancient division of Wales was comprehended within the territories of Essylwg or Siluria, called also by British historians, the kingdom of Morgannwg, and is our present Monmouthshire. According to Taliessin, in his poem upon the Battle of Garaint, under their Prince Ynyr, the inhabitants of this

^b About the same time, Trahaern Vachan (a man of great power in the countrie of Brecknock) as he came to Lancors to speake with William Bruse lord thereof, was suddenlie taken, and by the lorde’s commandement, tied to a horse tail, and drawn through the towne of Aberhodny, or Brecknock, to the galowes, and there beheaded, and his bodie hanged up by the feate three daies. Powel, p. 251.

district were remarkable for their long hair, and perfidy, viz. “ Mawr erch anudon Gwenhwys gwallt hirion,” i. e. the mighty, horribly perjured, long haired Gwentians. Their invincible courage and obstinacy, in resisting the hostile encroachments of foreign powers, are recorded by the historian Tacitus. “ Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementiâ mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret, castrisque legionum premenda foret.”

CHAPTER V.

USK AND CAERLEON.

AT the castle of Usk, a multitude of persons influenced by the Archbishop's sermon, and the exhortations of the good and worthy William Bishop of Landaf,¹ who faithfully accompanied us through his diocese, were signed with the cross; Alexander Archdeacon of Bangor² acting as interpreter to the Welsh. It is remarkable, that many of the most notorious murderers, thieves, and robbers of the neighbourhood were here converted, to the astonishment of the spectators. Passing from thence to Caerleon, and leaving far on our left hand the castle of Monmouth, and noble forest of Dean,³ situated on the other side of the Wye and Severn, and which amply supplies Gloucester with iron and venison; we spent the night at Newport,

¹ William de Salso Marisco, who succeeded to the bishopric of Landaf, A. D. 1185, and presided over that see during the time of Baldwin's visitation in 1188. Godwin says that he was consecrated by Archbishop Baldwin in 1185, and that he vacated the see in 1191, when it was offered to Giraldus, and refused.

² Alexander was the fourth archdeacon of the see of Bangor; he held this office in 1166, during the archiepiscopacy of Becket, and retained it in 1188, when Baldwin visited Wales: he was a strenuous promoter of the crusade, and acted as interpreter between the Archbishop and the Welsh.

³ The forest of Dean is situated in the westerly part of Gloucestershire, between the rivers Severn and Wye. It contains about thirty thousand acres, the soil of which is a deep clay, adapted to the growth of oak. It was formerly so thick with trees, and so very dark and terrible by reason of its shades and cross-ways, that it rendered the inhabitants barbarous, and emboldened them to commit many outrages. In the reign

having crossed the river Usk three times.⁴ Caerleon⁵ is called the city of Legions; *Caer*, in the British language, signifying a city or camp, for there the Roman legions were accustomed to winter; and from this circumstance it was styled the city of Legions. This city was of undoubted antiquity, and handsomely built of brick by the Romans; many vestiges of its former splendour may yet be seen. Immense palaces, ornamented with gilded roofs, in imitation of Roman magnificence; a tower of prodigious size, remarkable hot baths, relics of temples, and theatres inclosed within fine walls, parts

of Henry the Sixth, they so annoyed the inhabitants of the banks of the Severn with their robberies, that an act of Parliament was made on purpose to restrain them.

The oak of this forest was so very considerable, that it is said to have been part of the instructions of the Spanish Armada to destroy the timber of this place. Since the discovery of iron ore on this spot, the woods have gradually decreased. Camden's *Britannia*, Gloucestershire.

⁴ Once at Usk, then at Caerleon, and afterwards on entering the town of Newport.

⁵ This city was the station of the *Legio Secunda Augusta*, and still retains many vestiges of Roman antiquity: the extent of its stone walls may yet be traced; the grounds within its precincts are thickly strewed with Roman bricks, and many Latin inscriptions have been dug up. The ancient city was surveyed by Mr. Coxe, and its plan given in his *Tour through Monmouthshire*.

From Ross of Warwick we learn the following particulars respecting this ancient city. "*Bellinus condidit urbem Legionum in Cambriâ. Hæc urbs Legionum, nunc dicta Caerleon, à flumine subtùs currente primò dicta est Caer Usk, sed à Romanis ibi hiemantibus propter legiones suas dicta est Caerleon. Floruit ibi quondam nobilis studentium universitas. Ibi etiam ipse rex statuit unum archiflaminem. Huic successit filius suus Gurgwynt, Latinè Gurguncius, et urbem Legionum, quam suus pater in Cambriâ condiderat, muris nobilibus circumcinxit, decoravit, et fortificare studuit. Erat hæc metropolis Demeciæ, id est, Suth-Walliæ, sicut alia urbs Legionum, quæ nunc Cestria dicitur, erat metropolis Venedociæ, id est North-Walliæ, quæ etiam, sicut et prærecitata, nomen traxit à legionibus Romanorum ibi commorantium.*" In another place, this ancient writer adds, "*Coellus (Bassiani successor) dux Kaercolini, id est, Colcestriæ, ædificavit Caerleyn et Caermerdin, et Herfordwest in West Walliâ.*" (Ross *Warwick*, p. 25.)

of which remain standing. You will find on all sides, both within and without the circuit of the walls, subterraneous vaults and aqueducts; and what I think worthy of notice, stoves contrived with wonderful art, to transmit the heat insensibly through narrow tubes.

Julius and Aaron, after suffering martyrdom, were buried in this city, and had each a church dedicated to him. After Albanus and Amphibalus, they were esteemed the chief protomartyrs of Britannia Major.⁶ In ancient times there were three fine churches in this city, one dedicated to Julius the martyr, graced with a choir of nuns; another to Aaron his associate, and ennobled with an order of canons; and the third distinguished as the metropolitan see of Wales. Amphibalus, the instructor of Albanus in the true faith, was born in this place. This city is well situated on the river Usk, navigable to the sea, and adorned with woods and meadows. The Roman ambassadors here received their audience at the court of the great King Arthur; and here also, the Archbishop Dubricius ceded his honours to David of Menevia, the metropolitan see being translated from this place to Menevia, according to the prophecy of Merlin Ambrosius:

“ Menevia pallio urbis Legionum inductur.”

“ Menevia shall be invested with the pall of the city of Legions.”

⁶ Giraldus says that there were formerly three fine churches in the city of Caerleon, and mentions two of the saints to whom they were dedicated. I am inclined to think that two of them were in the neighbourhood of Caerleon, and not within the walls, whose limits were too confined to admit of so many ecclesiastical establishments.

I have been informed, upon enquiry, that one of these churches was probably Saint Alban's in the parish of Christchurch, and Saint Quenoc in the parish of Langattoc, both of which are now in ruins. Leland says in his time, “ that in the towne is now but one parochie chirche, and that is of S. Cadocus.” That same church now remains, and the only one within the walls; it is dedicated to Saint Cadog, an account of whom may be seen in the Cambrian Biography.

Not far from Newport is a rocky eminence, impending over the Severn, called by the English Gouldcliffe, or golden rock, because from the reflections of the sun's rays it assumes a bright golden colour :

“ Nec mihi de facili fieri persuasio posset,
Quod frustrà tantum dederit natura nitorem
Saxis, quodque suo fuerit flos hic sine fructu,”

Nor can I be easily persuaded that nature hath given such splendour to the rocks in vain, and that this flower should be without fruit : if any one would take the pains to penetrate deeply into the bowels of the earth ; if any one, I say, would extract honey from the rock, and oil from the stone ; for many riches of nature lie concealed through inattention, which the diligence of posterity will bring to light : for as necessity first taught the ancients to discover the conveniences of life ; so industry, and a greater acuteness of intellect have laid open many things to the moderns : as the poet says, assigning two causes for these discoveries :

“ — — — labor omnia vincit
Improbis, et duris urgens in rebus egestas.”

It is worthy of observation, that there lived in the neighbourhood of this city of Legions, in our time, a Welshman named Melerius, who by the following means acquired the knowledge of future events, and the occult sciences. Having, on a certain night, met a damsel whom he loved, in a pleasant and convenient place, while he was indulging in her embraces, instead of a beautiful girl, he found in his arms a hairy, rough, and hideous creature, the sight of which

deprived him of his senses, and after remaining many years in this condition, he was restored to health in the church of Saint David's, through the merits of its saints. But having always had an extraordinary familiarity with unclean spirits, by seeing them, knowing them, talking with them, and calling each by his proper name, he was enabled, through their assistance, to foretel future events: he was indeed often deceived (as they are) with respect to circumstances at a great distance; but was less mistaken in affairs which were likely to happen soon, or within the space of a year. They appeared to him on foot, equipped as hunters, with horns suspended from their necks, and truly as hunters, not of animals, but of souls: he particularly met them near monasteries and religious places; for where rebellion exists, there is the greatest need of armies and strength. He knew when any one spoke falsely in his presence, for he saw the devil, as it were, leaping and exulting upon the tongue of the liar: and if he looked into a book faultily or falsely written, although wholly illiterate, he would point out the place with his finger. Being questioned how he could gain such knowledge, he said that he was directed by the demon's finger to the place. In the same manner, entering into the dormitory of a monastery, he indicated the bed of any monk not sincerely devoted to religion: for he said, that the spirit of gluttony and surfeit was in every respect sordid; but that the spirit of luxury and lust was more beautiful than others in appearance, though in fact most foul. When the evil spirits oppressed him too much, the Gospel of Saint John was placed on his bosom, when, like birds, they immediately vanished; but when that book was removed, and the history of the Britons, by Geoffrey ap Arthur, substituted in its place, they instantly re-appeared

in greater numbers, and remained a longer time on his body, and on the book. It is worthy of remark, that Barnabas placed the Gospel of Saint Matthew upon sick persons, and they were healed; from which, as well as from the foregoing circumstance, it appears how great a dignity and reverence is due to the sacred books of the Gospel, and with what danger and risk of damnation every one who swears falsely by them, deviates from the paths of truth. The fall of Enoch, Abbot of Strata Marcella,⁷ was well known to many in Wales the day after it happened, as evidently appeared from a speech of Melerius, who being asked how he knew this circumstance, said, that a demon came to him disguised as a hunter, and, exulting in the prospect of such a victory, foretold the ruin of the abbot, and explained in what manner he would make him run away with a nun from the monastery: the end in view was probably the humiliation and correction of the abbot, as was proved from his shortly returning home so humbled and amended, that he scarcely could be said to have erred. Seneca says, "He falls not badly, who rises stronger from his fall." Peter was more strenuous after his denial of Christ, and Paul after being stoned: since where sin abounds, there will grace also superabound. Mary Magdalen was strengthened after her frailty. He secretly revealed to Conan, the good and religious

⁷ The Cistercian abbey here alluded to was known by the several names of Ystrat Marchel, Strata Marcella, Alba domus de Strat-margel, Vallis Crucis, or Pola, and was situated between Guilsfield and Welsh Pool in Montgomeryshire. Authors differ in opinion about its original founder. Leland attributes it to Owen Cyveiliog, Prince of Powys, and Dugdale to Madoc the son of Gruffydh, relating for his authority the original grants and endowments of this abbey. According to Tanner, about the beginning of the reign of King Edward the Third, the Welsh monks were removed from hence into English abbies, and English monks were placed here, and the abbey made subject to the visitation of the abbot and convent of Bildewas in Shropshire.

Abbot of Alba-domus, his opinion of a certain woman whom he had seen; upon which the holy man confessed, with tears in his eyes, his predilection for her, and received from three priests the discipline of incontinence; for as that long and experienced subtile enemy, by arguing from certain conjectural signs, may foretel future by past events; so by insidious treachery and contrivance, added to exterior appearances, he may sometimes be able to discover the interior workings of the mind. At the same time, there was in Lower Gwent, a demon incubus, who, from his love for a certain young woman, and frequenting the place where she lived, often conversed with men, and frequently discovered hidden things and future events. Melerius being interrogated concerning him, said he knew him well, and mentioned his name; he affirmed, that unclean spirits conversed with mankind before war, or any great internal disturbance, which was shortly afterwards proved, by the destruction of the province by Howel, son of Jorwerth of Caerleon. When King Henry the Second, having taken the King of Scotland prisoner, had restored peace to his kingdom, Howel, fearful of the royal revenge for the war he had waged, was relieved from his difficulties by these comfortable words of Melerius, "Fear not," says he, "Howel! the wrath of the king, since he must go into other parts. An important city which he possesses beyond sea is now besieged by the King of France, on which account he will postpone every other business, and hasten thither with all possible expedition." Three days afterwards, Howel received advice that this event had really come to pass, owing to the siege of the city of Rouen. He forewarned also Howel of the betraying of his castle at Usk, a long time before it happened, and informed him that he should there be wounded,

but not mortally, and that he should escape alive from the town. In this alone he was deceived, for he soon after died of the same wound: thus does that arch enemy favour his friends for a time, and thus does he at last reward them.

In all these singular events, it appears to me wonderful that he plainly saw those spirits, which cannot be discerned unless they assume a corporeal substance; but if in order to be seen they had assumed such a substance, how could they remain unperceived by other persons who were present? perhaps they were seen by such a miraculous vision, as King Balthasar saw the hand of one writing on the wall: Mane, Techel, Phares; that is, weighed, numbered, divided; who in the same night lost both his kingdom and his life.

But Cambria well knows how in these districts, from a blind desire of dominion, a total dissolution of the endearing ties of consanguinity, and a bad and depraved example diffused throughout the country, good faith has been so shamefully perverted and abused.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER V.

Usk—A small town prettily situated on a river of the same name, over which there is a long and picturesque bridge of stone. The Roman station of Burrium is supposed to have stood near the site of the present town. There are still the remains of a large castle on an eminence, which overlooks the town, and of a priory, adjoining to the parish church. I can collect but few particulars respecting either, as no mention is made of the castle in the Welsh Chronicles, nor does

Dugdale notice the priory in his *Monasticon*. I am inclined to attribute the foundation of each to the Clare family; for in the reign of King Henry the Third, we find the castle in the possession of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford; and Bishop Tanner quotes a note from an ancient MS. in which Sir Richard de Clare and Gilbert his son, Earls Marchers, were accounted the founders of the priory, and prayed for as such. According to the said author, it was founded before the year 1236, and consisted of five Benedictine nuns, and if we may give credit to William de Worcestre, who says that St. Eleveha, or Almedha, was buried there, its foundation must have born a much earlier date. The parish church, with the ancient gateway leading to the priory, have a very picturesque appearance, and the Norman architecture of the former evidently bespeaks its antiquity. As a very full account of the town, priory, and castle of Usk, together with many particulars relating to the noble family of Clare, as well as an explanation of the curious brass plate within the church, which has so long engaged the attention of Welsh antiquaries and linguists, have been given by Mr. Coxe, I shall refer the reader, who may wish for further information on this subject, to his *Historical Tour through Monmouthshire*.

Julius and Aaron—When the persecution of the Emperor Dioclesian raged against the Christians throughout the whole empire, a certain man, named Amphibalus, illustrious for his virtues and learning, having crossed the sea, came to Verulam,^a and entering that city, craved admittance, as a stranger, to the house of Albanus, who was a citizen of that town, eminent for his quality and noble

^a The very interesting ruins of Verulam are to be seen at a short distance from St. Alban's in Hertfordshire.

parentage; he received the holy man with great kindness and liberality, and, by his persuasions, made him a convert to Christianity. Anxious, however, for the safety of his guest, Albanus exhorted him to depart from Verulam, and as a disguise gave him his own military vestment woven with gold, taking in exchange that of Amphibalus called Caracalla.^b But this liberal and friendly conduct proved fatal to Albanus, for he was seized by order of the Roman judge, confined in prison, scourged, and led to execution, at which perilous moment he is said to have converted his executioner, one Heraclius, a soldier, who throwing away his sword, cast himself at the feet of the holy man, and humbly begged his pardon. The monasteries of Ely, and Canterbury having entered into a controversy respecting the possession of the holy martyr's body, King Edward the Second, by his royal authority, caused the tomb to be opened in which the monks of Ely asserted that the body of Albanus was deposited, but nothing was found therein but a coarse hairy garment, sprinkled with blood in several places, which was probably the Caracalla that Albanus had received from Amphibalus, and in which he had suffered martyrdom.

Amphibalus having made his escape from Verulam, proceeded towards Wales, but was soon overtaken, bound with cords, and driven barefooted back to Verulam, where he was stripped of his garments, tied to a stake, and put to death, in a manner too barbarous

^b The vestment called Caracalla was a long flowing robe, reaching to the ankles, and worn by the inhabitants of Gaul. The Roman Emperor Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus gained the nickname of Caracalla, from the circumstance of his having obliged the people to wear it. "At cum è Galliâ vestem plurimam devexisset, talaesque Caracallas fecisset, coegissetque plebem ad se salutandum indutam talibus introire, de nomine hujusce vestis Caracalla cognominatus est." Aur. Victor. p. 535.

to relate, at the village of Redburn, three miles distant from Verulam: in the way between these two places, a tree is shewn, of late inclosed with walls, wherein, according to tradition, the post was fixed, to which the holy martyr was tied. Till the year 1178 his body (it is said) could never be discovered, and then only by a miracle; when it was removed and deposited in the church of Saint Albanus, built by King Offa, on which occasion an ancient author observes, "Verulam never saw any day more joyful or beneficial. A martyr meets a martyr, the scholar meets his master, the host meets his guest, and one citizen of heaven meets another."

Chauncy, in his History of Hertfordshire, p. 420, relates at length this history of Albanus, and says that he was executed on a hill called Holmhurst, and that the convert executioner also suffered death for having refused to act his office; and after him Julius and Aaron suffered martyrdom.

Camden adds (under the title of Hertfordshire) that when the ancient city of Verulam was ruined by the Saxons, Offa King of the Mercians, about the year 795, founded over against it, in a place called Holmehurst, a very large and stately monastery to the memory of Saint Alban; from whom the present town derived its name of Saint Alban's.

Caerleon—Was certainly the Isca Silurum of the Romans, so called to distinguish it from another city called Isca Damnoniorum, now Exeter, both being built on rivers of the same name; it was also the principal station of the second legion, distinguished by the name of Augusta; but that from thence it derived its British name, "quasi castrum legionum," is strenuously denied by Welsh etymologists. Mr. Owen contends, that it should be written Caer-Llion, i. e. the

City of Waters, from Llion the plural of Lli, a stream, alluding to its situation on the river Usk. On the other hand, another lexicographer, Mr. Walters, supports the present reading, and derives it from Lleon, a very ancient British king, its founder. It is commonly called Caerlleon ar Wysg, to distinguish it from Caerlleon ar Dyfrdwy, or Chester, which is built upon the Dee. The latter place is universally, even at the present day, called Caer-Lleon Gawr, or the fortress of King Lleon, by the natives of the principality, which rather favours the opinion of Mr. Walters. This Lleon Gawr, was the son of Brut Darian Las, and was the eighth King of Britain; and if Caerleon upon the river Usk, as well as Chester upon the Dee, received their names from this same prince, his dominion must have been universal throughout North and South Wales; but as we know from the Roman historians, and the discoveries of inscriptions, coins, &c. that the station of the second legion was at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, and that of the twentieth at Deva, or Chester, I am rather inclined to doubt of the extensive range of territory ascribed to King Lleon, and to give the preference to the etymology given by the historians Ross of Warwick, and our author Giraldus.

The situation of this ancient city, on the banks of the river Usk, is elegantly expressed by an anonymous writer, quoted by Archbishop Usher, whom he calls Pseudo-Gildas—

“ Nobilis urbs, et amœna situ, quam labilis Osca
Irrigat———”

Ponticus Virunnius, copying from the legend of Geoffrey of Monmouth, attributes the building of this city, which he calls Caerwysc, or the city on the Usk, to Belinus, whom the Britons called Beli

Mawr, or the Great, upwards of three hundred and fifty years before Christ, and says that the Romans changed its name to the city of Legions, when they placed their troops there.

Arthur—A most remarkable name amongst the Britons : as a hero and a warrior he appears illustrious in the British history ; but, as a being of romance, his splendour has dazzled the world. These two characters have been much confounded by ancient writers, and the name and exploits of Arthur have consequently been thickly enveloped in the clouds of legendary fiction and romance. The learned and ingenious compiler of the Cambrian Biography has in a great measure dispersed them, by specifying the distinct qualities of the two persons who bore the name of Arthur. He says, “ that there was a prince of this name, or who had such an appellation given him, on account of his great exploits, as Nennius represents, and who often led the Britons to battle against the Saxons in the commencement of the sixth century, there ought not to be any doubt ; for he is mentioned by Llywarch, Merddin, and Taliesin, poets who were his cotemporaries ; and he is also often recorded in the triads, which are documents of undoubted credit ; but neither by the poets, nor in the triads, is he in anywise exalted above other princes, who held similar stations in the country.

About the year 517, Arthur was elected by the states of Britain to exercise sovereign authority, as other princes had been, in times of danger ; and he obtained that pre-eminence in consequence of superior abilities and bravery, having been from about the year 510 only a chieftain of the Silurian Britons, being the son of Meirig ap Tewdrig, King of Morganwg, and Garthmathrin, or Siluria. He continued a successful opposer of the growing power of the Saxons,

until a fatal dissention took place between him and Medrod,^c which about the year 540 broke out into a civil war. Medrod united his power with the Saxons, and the two parties joined issue in the battle of Camlan, A. D. 542, which proved fatal to the leaders on both sides, and ultimately accelerated the ruin of the Britons.

In the Triads Arthur, Cynvelyn, and Caradog, are distinguished by the appellation of the three gallant sovereigns of the isle of Britain, and with Morgan the Courteous, and Rhun, son of Beli, Arthur formed the Triad of blood-stained sovereigns. He wished also to be thought a bard; but as war was incompatible with the tenets of that order, he was reckoned, with Rhyod ail Morgant and Cadwallon, as one of the three irregular bards of the isle of Britain. Such is the outline of Arthur's portrait, as exhibited by the bards and triads. The hero of the same name, mentioned in the dramatic tales called Mabinogion,^d is totally of different features, and in fact is altogether another personage. His attributes in that work point him out as a mythological character of times so ancient as to be beyond the scope of history. Thus by confounding the Arthur of history with that of mythology, the chroniclers of the middle ages have committed a great anachronism, and thus have blended the real feats of the former, with the allegorical attributes of the latter; and this confusion is still increased by all the succeeding writers of romance.

But the old British historians state Arthur to have been the son

^c Medrod was the son of Llew ap Cynvarch, a distinguished character in the British history, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century. He was called one of the three arrant traitors, for uniting with the Saxons and Scots against Arthur. See further particulars in the *Cambrian Biography*, p. 242.

^d This curious collection of tales will shortly appear in the third volume of the *Myvyrian Archæology*.

of Uther Pendragon, who fell in love with Igera, or Eigyr, the wife of Gorlois Duke of Cornwall, and aided by the skill of the magician Merlin, was introduced to her in the form of her husband, and begat Arthur.*

They also generally state that he was crowned at the city of Caerleon by Dubricius, the archbishop of that see, in the year 516.†

The poet Churchyard, in his book on the Worthiness of Wales, has given the following account of the splendid ceremony. “ The appointed tyme of the solemnitie approching, and all being readie assembled in the citie of Carleon, the Archbishops London and Yorke, and in the citie of Carleon the Archbishop Dubright were conveyed to the palace with royall solemnitie to crowne King Arthur. Dubright, therefore (because the court lay then within his diocesse) furnished himself accordingly to perfourme and solemnize this charge in his owne person. The king being crowned, was royally brought to the cathedrall church of that metropolitick see. On either hand of him, both the right and left, did two archbishops support him. And fower kings, to wit, Angusell King of Albania,

* The editor of the *Cambrian Biography* here remarks “ that there was a remarkable blunder made by the chroniclers of the middle ages, in attributing to this prince the parentage of the mythological Arthur, that is, in making him the son of Uthyr Bendragon, and in making Uthyr to reign as the eighty-sixth king of Britain, between Ambrosius and Arthur, whereas the triads are altogether silent about such a name.”

† A. D. 516, defuncto autem rege, convenerunt pontifices cum clero regni et populo ipsumque infra choream gigantum more regio humaverunt. Quo facto, Dubritius Urbis legionum Archiepiscopus, sociatis sibi episcopis et magnatibus, Arthurum filium ejus juvenem 15 annorum, in regem magnificè erexerunt. Erat enim inauditæ virtutis atque largitatis, unde tantam gratiam promeruit, ut a cunctis, et etiam ab hostibus commendaretur. Confluebat autem ad eum tanta militum fortitudo, tantaque militantium multitudo, quod sufficienter quæ illis ministraret stipendia distribuenda non haberet. *Matthew Westmonast.* p. 97.

Cadwall King of Venedocia, Cador King of Cornewall, and Sater King of Demetia, went before him carrying fower golden swords. The companies also and concourse of sondrie sorts of officers, played afore him melodious and heavenly harmonie. On the other parte, the queene was brought to the church of professed nunnes, being conducted and accompanied with archbishops and bishops, with her armes and titles royally garnished. And the queenes being wives unto the fower kings aforesayd, caryed before her (as the order and custome was) fower white doves or pigeons. For behold, twelve discreete personages of reverend countenance came to the king in stately maner, carying in their right hands in token and signe of ambassage, olive boughs. And after they had saluted him, they delivered unto him on the behalf of the Roman general Lucius Tiberius, certain letters complaining that he withheld the tribute which had been paid by the Britons from the time of Julius Cæsar, and demanding redress of the wrongs he had committed, and restitution of the territory he had taken from the Romans.*

Immediately after this ceremony, the venerable and aged Dubrius retired to the isle of Bardesey, where he ended his days in religious retirement.

Gouldclyffe or Goldcliff—Is situated a few miles SE of Newport, on the shores of the Severn. In the year 1113, Robert de Candos founded and endowed the church of Goldclive, and by the advice of King Henry the First, gave it to the abbey of Bec, in Normandy ;

* Those who wish for more minute information respecting this celebrated Arthur, may consult Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History*, Churchyard's *Worthiness of Wales*, Cressy's *Church History*, and Mr. Ellis's late publication on the early English Romances.

its religious establishment consisted of a prior and twelve monks of the Order of Saint Benedict. Robert de Candos came into England with William the Conqueror, died A. D. 1120, and was buried in the church of Goldclive; from the time of his decease, until the reign of King Henry the Sixth, the patronage of this church was vested in the crown for the space of 318 years, so that no prior, unless licensed by the king, and instituted by the Bishop of Landaff, was admitted: the last of those so admitted was Lawrentius de Bonavilla, in whose time the king gave up the patronage to Henry Duke of Warwick, who annexed it to the abbey of Tewkesbury. The following grants relating to this priory are preserved by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*:

1. Deed reciting the grant of Robert de Candos of the priory of Goldclive to the abbey of Bec.

2. Confirmation by King John of the above charter, and grant of Pope Eugenius to unite this priory to the abbey of Tewkesbury.

Leland says, "At Goldclif a three miles from Newport on the Severn shore was a priory of monkes of the French Ordre, suppressed, and the lands given to Eton college."

The same author adds the following account of its foundation and founder. "An^o. Dⁿⁱ. 1113, D^{ns} Robertus de Candos fundavit ecclesiam de Goldecliva in honorem S. Mariæ Virg. et S. Magdalenæ, et posuit in eâ permissione Henrici I. Regis Angliæ, Hugonem cum 12 fratribus qui S. Benedicti regulam sequerentur, et abbatia Beccensi subjecit.

Robertus Candos veniebat è Normanniâ cum Gul. Cónquestore. Genuit ex Isabellâ uxore suâ Robertum, Rogerum, et Godardum: et patronatus de Goldeclive traditus est in manus regis.

Quart. Non. Decembr. A°. Dⁱ. 1120, obiit Robertus Candos, et sepultus est in dexterâ parte presbyterii apud Goldclive.

Henricus VI. Rex Angliæ contulit patronatum de Goldeclive Henrico Duci de Warwik." Leland. Itin. Tom. VI. p. 79. There are no remains of this priory worth notice at present.

CHAPTER VI.

NEWPORT AND CAERDYF.

AT Newport, where the river Usk, descending from its original source in Cantref Bachan, falls into the sea, many persons were induced to take the cross. Having passed the river Remni, we approached the noble castle of Caerdyf, situated on the banks of the river Taf.* In the neighbourhood of Newport, which is in the district of Gwentlwc, there is a small stream called Nant Pencarn, passable only at certain fords, not so much owing to the depth of its waters, as from the hollowness of its channel and muddy bottom. The public road led formerly to a ford called Ryd Pencarn, that is, the ford under the head of a rock, from Rhyd, which in the British language signifies a ford ; Pen, the head, and Carn, a rock ; of which place Merlin Sylvester had thus prophesied : “ Whenever you shall see a mighty prince with a freckled face make an hostile irruption into the southern part of Britain, should he cross the ford of Pencarn, then know ye, that the force of Cambria shall be brought low.” Now it came to pass in our times, that King Henry the Second took up arms against Rhys the son of Gruffydh, and directed his march through the southern part of Wales towards Caermardyn. On the day he intended to pass over Nant Pencarn, the old Britons of the neighbour-

* The sources of the rivers Usk, Remni, and Taf are mentioned by Giraldus in his *Description of Wales*, Book I. Chapter 5.

hood watched his approach towards the ford with the utmost solicitude; knowing, since he was both mighty and freckled, that if the passage of the destined ford was accomplished, the prophecy concerning him would undoubtedly be fulfilled. When the king had followed the road leading to a more modern ford of the river (the old one spoken of in the prophecy having been for a long time in disuse), and was preparing to pass over; the minstrels and trumpeters called Cornhiriet, from *hir*, long, and *cornu*, a horn, began to sound their instruments on the opposite bank in honour of the king. The king's horse startling at the wild and unusual noise, refused to obey the spur, and enter the water; upon which the king gathering up the reins, hastened, in violent wrath, to the ancient ford, which he rapidly passed, and the Britons returned to their homes, alarmed and dismayed at the destruction which seemed to await them. An extraordinary circumstance occurred likewise at the castle of Caerdyf: William Earl of Gloucester, son of Earl Robert, who besides that castle, possessed by hereditary right all the province of Gwlad-vorgan,² that is, the land of Morgan, had a dispute with one of his dependants, whose name was Ivor the Little, being a man of short stature, but of great courage. This man was owner of a tract of

² The Coychurch Manuscript quoted by Mr. Williams in his History of Monmouthshire, asserts that Morgan, surnamed Mwyn-fawr, or the Gentle, the son of Athrwy (the celebrated Arthur), not having been elected to the chief command of the British armies, upon his father's death retired from Caerleon, and took up his residence in Glamorganshire, sometimes at Rhadir near Cardiff, and at other times at Margan; and from this event the district derived its name, quasi Gwlad-Morgan, the country of Morgan. Another MS. quoted by the same author, which he calls the Truman MS. says that this same Morgan had a palace at Margan, and erected a bishopric there, which lasted five generations, and was then united to the see of Landaf.

mountainous and woody country, of the whole or a part of which, the earl endeavoured to deprive him. At that time the castle of Caerdyf was surrounded with high walls, guarded by one hundred and twenty soldiers, a numerous body of archers, and a strong watch: the city also contained many stipendiary soldiers; yet, in defiance of all these precautions of security, Ivor, in the dead of night, secretly scaled the walls, and seizing the count and countess, with their only son, carried them off into the woods, and did not release them until he had recovered every thing that had been unjustly taken from him, and received a compensation of additional property; for, as the poet observes,

“ Spectandum est semper ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus et miseris; tollas licet omne quod usquam est,
Argenti atque auri, spoliatis arma supersunt.”

In this same town of Caerdyf, King Henry the Second, on his return from Ireland the first Sunday after Easter, passed the night. In the morning having heard mass, he remained at his devotions till every one had quitted the chapel of S. Piranus:³ as he mounted his horse at the door, a man of a fair complexion, with a round tonsure

³ S. Piranus, otherwise called S. Kiaran, or Piran, was an Irish saint born in the county of Ossory, or of Cork, about the middle of the fourth century. Some authors say, that he preached the Gospel in Ireland before the coming of St. Patrick, though others, more probably, affirm, that he was one of the first twelve bishops consecrated by that saint to propagate the faith, which he first preached in Ireland; and after that, by his labours the Gospel had made good progress, he forsook all worldly things, and spent the remainder of his life in religious solitude. The place of his retirement was on the sea-coast of Cornwall, and not far from Padstow, where, as Camden informs us, there was a chapel on the sands erected to his memory.

Leland has informed us, that the chapelle of S. Perine stood in Shoemaker street.

and meagre countenance, tall, and about forty years of age, habited in a white robe falling down to his naked feet, thus addressed him in the Teutonic tongue: "God hold ye cuinge," which signifies, "May God protect you," and proceeded in the same language, "Christ and his Holy Mother, John the Baptist, and the Apostle Peter salute thee, and command thee strictly to prohibit throughout thy whole dominions every kind of buying or selling on Sundays; and not to suffer any work to be done on those days, except such as relates to the preparation of daily food; that due attention may be paid to the performance of the divine offices. If thou dost this, all thy undertakings shall be successful, and thou shalt lead a happy life." The king, in French, desired Philip de Mercros,^{*} who held the reins of his horse, to ask the rustic, if he had dreamt this? And when the soldier explained to him the king's question in English, he replied in the same language he had before used, "Whether I have dreamt it or not, observe what day this is (addressing himself to the king, not to the interpreter), and unless thou shalt do so, and quickly amend thy life, before the expiration of one year, thou shalt hear such things concerning what thou lovest best in this world, and shalt thereby be so much troubled, that thy disquietude shall continue to thy life's end." The king spurring his horse, proceeded a little way towards the gate, when stopping suddenly, he ordered his attendants to call the good man back. The soldier and a young man named William, the only persons who remained with the king, accordingly called him, and sought him in vain in the chapel, and in all the inns of the city. The king vexed that he had not spoken

^{*} So called from a parish of that name in Glamorganshire, situated between Monk Nash and St. Donat's, upon the Bristol Channel.

more to him, waited alone a long time, while other persons went in search of him, and when he could not be found, pursued his journey over the bridge of Remni to Newport. The fatal prediction came to pass within the year, as the man had threatened ; for the king's three sons, Henry the eldest, and his brothers Richard of Poictou and Geoffry Count of Britany, in the following Lent, went over to Lewis King of France ; which caused the king greater uneasiness than he had ever before experienced ; and which by the conduct of some one of his sons was continued till the time of his decease. This monarch, through divine mercy (for God is more desirous of the conversion than the destruction of a sinner) received many other admonitions and reproofs about this time, and shortly before his death ; all of which, being utterly incorrigible, he obstinately and obdurately despised, as will be more fully set forth (by the favour of God) in our book de Principis Instructione.

Not far from Caerdyf is a small island situated on the shore of the Severn, called Barri from Saint Baroc, who formerly lived there, and whose remains are deposited in a chapel overgrown with ivy. From hence a noble family of the maritime parts of South Wales, who owned this island and the adjoining estates, received the name of de Barri. It is remarkable that in a rock near the entrance of the island there is a small cavity, to which if the ear is applied, a noise is heard like that of smiths at work, the blowing of bellows, strokes of hammers, grinding of tools, and roaring of furnaces : and it might easily be imagined that such noises, which are continued at the ebb and flow of the tides, were occasioned by the influx of the sea under the cavities of the rocks.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER VI.

NEWPORT is a borough town situated on the banks of the river Usk, which is there navigable, and over which a handsome stone bridge has lately been constructed. Close to this bridge, and immediately on the western banks of the river, stand the ruins of an ancient castle: the name of its original founder is rather uncertain; but, as we are informed by history, that Robert Earl of Gloucester, who married Mawd, eldest daughter of Robert Fitz-Hamon, the conqueror and lord of Glamorgan, as well as his son William, had considerable possessions at Newport, and in its neighbourhood, we may with some degree of authority, attribute the origin of this castle to that noble family. I find it thus mentioned by Powel in his History of Wales. "King Henry the Second in the year 1172, as he passed from Cardyf by the new castel upon Uske, sent for Jorwerth ap Owen ap Caradoc to come and speake with him, under safe conduct to him, his sons and freends, meaning to conclude peace with him, and so to quiet all Wales. Whereupon Jorwerth tooke his journey towards the king, and sent word to Owen his sonne, being a lustie young gentleman, to meete with him by the waie; but as he came at his father's commandement, the Earl of Brystowe's men (hearing of it) came forth of the new castell upon Uske, and laid wait for him by the way (being under the king's safe conduct, and trusting to his promise) and suddenly set upon him, and murthered him traiterouslie and cowardlie, being unarmed, and having but a few in his companie." (Powel, p. 232.)

“ Simon de Monteforti occupavit Caerusk castrum dominicum Comitis Gloucestriæ, et Novum Portum vicum maritimum, sed Comes Gloucestriæ utrumque paulò post recuperavit.”^a The same author in his Itinerary calls it “ A very fair castell, longing sum tyme to the Buckinghamys ;” and gives the following account of the town of Newport.

“ Newport is a bigge towne, wherof that parte where the parochie churche is stondith on a hille. The church is S. Guntle Olave in Englisch.” This church dedicated to S. Gundleus, a distinguished saint of the fifth century, is now better known by the name of St Woolos, and is situated at some distance from the town of Newport, on an eminence commanding a delightful view. Its ancient Saxon door-way and architecture (of which a plate is given in Mr. Coxe’s Historical Tour through Monmouthshire), as well as its fine prospect, merit the traveller’s attention.^b

“ Ther is a great stone gate by the bridge at the este ende of the toun, an other yn the middle of the town, as in the high strete to passe thorough, and the 3 at the west ende of the toune ; and hard without it is the parochie churche. The fairest of the toun is al yn one streate. The toun is yn ruine. Ther was a house of religion by the key beneth the bridge.

The castelle is on the este side of the toun above the bridge.”

Caerdyf.—The fortress on the river Taf. About the year 1091, Robert Fitz-Hamon, a Norman chief, and kinsman of William the Conqueror, made the conquest of Glamorgan, and having parcelled

^a Leland Collect. Tom. II. p. 418.

^b Much historical information respecting Newport and its history, may be found in Mr. Coxe’s Historical Tour.



See Plate C. House of the

Wm. Byne. 1846

Wm. Byne. 1846

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out various lordships and manors to each of the twelve knights who had accompanied him, in reward of service, he reserved as a portion for himself, the castle of Caerdyf, where he resided and held his courts of justice. In the days of Giraldus, this castle was probably in a high state of preservation, as he calls it "nobile castrum;" it is still a massive pile of building, but owing to the innovations made within these few years, to render it habitable for its noble possessor,^c has lost in a great measure that baronial grandeur, which so strongly characterized these ancient buildings: a fine specimen, however, of its Norman architecture it still preserved in the octagonal tower, on the western side of the castle. The citadel on an elevated artificial mound within the walls, and the black tower, in which, according to vulgar tradition, Robert, the unfortunate son of William the Conqueror, suffered a confinement for the long term of twenty-six years, have escaped uninjured from the hands of the modern innovator, and still retain many venerable marks of antiquity. Leland has been very particular in his account of this town. He says, "It is the principale of al Glamorganshire, is well waulled, and is by estimation a mile in cumpace. In the waulle be five gates. First, Portllongey, in Englisch, the Ship-gate, flat south; then Port Doure, or the Water-gate, by southe weste; the Port Miskin, by north west, so caullid, bycause it ledith the way into the lordship of Miskin; then Port Singhenith, flat north, so caullid bycause that menne passe by it into Singhenith; then Port Crokerton, flat est, so caullid of the suburbe that joynith hard by it. The castelle is in the north west side of the town waulle, and is a great thing and a strong, but now in sum ruine: ther be two gates to entre the castelle, whereof the

^c The Marquis of Bute.

biggest is caullid Sherehaul gate, the other is caullid the Escheker gate; ther is by Sherehaul gate, a great large tour caullid White Tour, wherein is now the king's armory. The dungeon towr is large and fair; the castelle toward the toun by est and south is plaine, but it is dikid by northe, and by west it is defendid by Taphe river. There be certein places in the castelle limitid to every one of the 12 peres or knightes that cam with Haymo Erle of Glocester in King William Conqueror's dayes, and wan Glamorgane cuntry, and eche of these be bound to the castelle garde. Ther be two paroche chirchis in the towne, whereof the principale lying sumwhat by est is one; the other of our Lady is by southe on the water side. There is a chapelle beside in Shoemaker-streat of S. Perine, and another hard within Meskin gate side. Ther was a late a goodly mansion in the town caullid Place Newith. The biggest suburbe of the town is caullid Crockerton, and ther was a house of Gray Freres. There is another suburbe but lesse, without Port-llongy: the Black Freres house was withoute Meskin gate, and by side this, is litle building there." Leland Itin. Tom. IV. p. 54.

The following religious houses at Caerdyff, are mentioned by Tanner:

1. Benedictine priory.—“ A goodly priory is said to have been founded here by Robert, first Earl of Gloucester, who died A. D. 1147.
2. Black Friars.—Without the Meskin, or west-gate, was an house of Black Friars.
3. Grey Friars.—In Crockerton-street there was an house of Grey Friars dedicated to St. Francis, under the custody or wardenship of Bristol.

Leland, speaking of this convent, says “ In the year 1404, and in the fourth year of the reign of King Henry, Owen Glendwr burn’t the southern parts of Wales, and besieged the town and castle of Caerdyf. The besieged sent to the king for succour; but he neither came in person or sent them any assistance. Owen, therefore took the town and burnt it all, except one street in which the friers minors dwelled; which together with their convent he left standing for the love he bare them. He afterwards made himself master of the castle, and destroyed it, carrying away a rich booty which he found deposited there. But when the friers petitioned to him for their books and chalices, which they had lodged in the castle, he replied, why did you put your goods in the castle? If you had kept them in your convent, they would have been secure.” Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 313.

4. White Friars.—Here is likewise said to have been an house of White Friars.”

Of these religious houses there are some trifling remains within the town, and the ruinous shell of another large building in the suburbs, but of no very ancient date, if I may judge from the style of its architecture.

Gwentluc—So called (from Gwent, the name of the province, and llug, open) to distinguish it from the upper parts of Wentland, is an extensive tract of flat marshy ground, reaching from Newport to the shores of the river Severn. “ Wentllug is devidid from Ventissa (or lower Went) by este with the ryver of Wiske, by south with the Severn se, by west with the ryver of Remny to the very hedde of it, and toward the north northe este lye the hilles of high Wenceland.

The lenght of Wentllugh is from the Severn se to the lordship of Meridith, that is to say from south to northe about a xx mile. Where it is most brodest from est to west, it is not countid by estimation above 8 miles, and in diverse places lesse. The soile by south towards Severn is sumwhat low and fulle of dikes to drene it. Ther is lightly great plenty of benes, and in divers places it berith al other maner of corne. And this low ground is from the causey or highway that goit from Newport to Pont Remny by south to the Severne se. The north side of the same highway is stille higher and higher to the northe." Leland Itin. Tom. IV. p. 33.

Nant Pencarn, or the brook of Pencarn.—After a very attentive examination of the country round Newport by natives of that place, and from the information I have received on the subject, I am inclined to think that the river here alluded to was the Ebwy, which flows about a mile and a half south of Newport. "The ryver of Ebouith risith yn a montayne of High Wencelande, and strait cummith into a valley caullid Diffryn Serowy. Ebouith goith into Wisk a mile and a half beneth Newport, and half a mile from the haven mouth of Wiske." At first it bears the appearance of a mountain torrent, but on approaching towards the marshes, it assumes the character ascribed to it by our author. Before the new turnpike road and bridge were made across Tredegar Park, the old road led to a ford lower down the river, and may still be travelled as far as Caerdyf; and was probably the ford mentioned in the text, as three old farm-houses in its neighbourhood still retain the names of Great Pencarn, Little Pencarn, and Middle Pencarn.

Robert Fitz-Hamon, Earl of Astremeville in Normandy, came

into England with William the Conqueror, and by the gift of William Rufus, obtained the honour of Gloucester, which had been the inheritance of Brictric, a Saxon, who having incurred the displeasure of Mawd, the Conqueror's wife, by refusing her in marriage, was dispossessed thereof upon the Normans gaining possession of England: he was wounded with a spear at the siege of Faleise in Normandy, died soon afterwards, and was buried A. D. 1102, in the abbey of Tewkesbury, which he had founded. Leaving no male issue, King Henry gave his eldest daughter Mabell or Mawd, who, in her own right, had the whole honour of Gloucester, to his illegitimate son Robert, who was advanced to the earldom of Gloucester, by the king his father. He is said to have built a castle, and founded a priory at Bristol, and to have erected the castle at Caerdyf: he died A. D. 1147, and was buried in the choir of the priory of Saint James at Bristol, under a tomb stone of green jasper. He left four sons, William, the personage here mentioned by Giraldus, who succeeded him in his titles and honours; Roger, Bishop of Worcester, who died at Tours in France, A. D. 1179; Hamon, who died at the siege of Toulouse, A. D. 1159; and Philip.

S. Baruch—Our author, in his life of S. David the Archbishop, gives a most wonderful account of this St. Baruch, who, he tells us, was an abbot of Cork, and having been upon a visit to that holy prelate, and detained by contrary winds, borrowed his friend's horse, and rode him across the sea, from Pembrokeshire to the Irish coast. According to Cressy, he died in the year 700, and was buried in the island of Barri, which bears his name. Camden says, that this saint was a disciple of St. Gwalchi, who

was buried on one of the two islands in the Bristol Channel called Stepholme and Flatholme.

“ In Sabriniano freto eminent duæ insulæ exiguæ, &c. nec aliâ re olim celebres fuerunt quam Danorum stationibus, et Gualchi eximie pietatis Britanni sepulturâ, cujus discipulus Barruchus, Barri insulæ juxta Silley in Walliâ nomen reliquit, quæ itidem Barrorum familiæ nobili in Hiberniâ nomen fecit.”

Barri island—Is situated on the coast of Glamorganshire, and, according to Cressy, took its name from one Baruc, a hermit, who resided and was buried there: the Barrys in Ireland, as well as the family of Giraldus, who were lords of it, are said to have derived their names from the same origin: Leland, in speaking of this island, says, “ The passage into Barrey isle at ful se is a flite shot over, as much as the Tamise is above the bridge. At low water there is a broken causey to go over, or els over the shalow stremelet of Barrey-brook on the sands. The isle is about a mile in cumpace, and hath very good corne, grasse, and sum wood; the ferme of it worth a £10. a yere. There ys no dwelling in the isle, but there is in the middle of it a fair litle chapel of Saint Barrok wher much pilgrimage was usid.” This little island is nearly opposite to Watchet on the coast of Somerset, and is situated about ten miles from Caerdyf, and contains three hundred acres of land, let at the annual rent of eighty pounds, with only one house annexed, which during the summer months is fitted up as a boarding-house for the reception of sea bathers, and will accommodate about twelve people; the island maintains a few sheep and cows, and has a large rabbit warren, on which I saw several of that beautiful species of wild fowl called burrow ducks, from the circumstance of their making their nests

in the rabbit holes. On the western side of the island, facing the little village of Barry (where there are the ruins of an ancient castle,^d a few scattered stones mark the site of an old chapel; and further to the west, the remains of another are distinguishable at low water; towards the southern part of the island, on a spot called Nell's Point, is a fine well, to which great numbers of women resort on Holy Thursday, and having washed their eyes at the spring, each drops a pin into it. The landlord of the boarding-house told me, that on cleaning out the well, he took out a pint full of these votive pins. A carriage may pass over the narrow creek which separates the island from the main land, at low water; but the road leads over a very rough bank of pebbles. I was told that lead and calamine had been found in the island.

^d On this bekke (beach) stondith the castelle of Barrey, about a quarter of a mile beyond the west ripe of it. This castelle stondith on a litle hil, and most of it is in ruine. Master St. John of Bedfordshir is lorde of it. Maurice St. John, uncle to Syr John St. John was owner of it. Leland Itin. Tom. IV. p. 44.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SEE OF LANDAF AND MONASTERY OF MARGAN.

ON the following morning, the business of the cross being publicly proclaimed at Landaf, the English standing on one side, and the Welsh on the other, many persons of each nation took the cross, and we remained there that night with William, bishop of that place,¹ a discreet and good man. The word Landaf signifies the church situated upon the river Taf, and is now called the church of Saint Téileau, formerly bishop of that see. The Archbishop having celebrated mass early in the morning before the high altar of the cathedral, we pursued our journey by the little cell of Ewenith to the noble Cistercian monastery of Margan. This monastery, under the direction of Conan, a learned and prudent abbot, was at this time more celebrated for its charitable deeds, than any other of that order in Wales. On this account it is an undoubted fact, that, as a reward for that abundant charity which the monastery had always, in times of need, exercised towards strangers and poor persons, in a season of an approaching famine, their corn and provisions were perceptibly, by divine assistance, increased, like the widow's cruise of oil, by the means of the prophet Elijah. About the time of its foundation, a young man of those parts, by birth a Welshman, having claimed and endeavoured to apply to his own use certain lands, which had

¹ William de Salso Marisco.

been given to the monastery, by the instigation of the devil, set on fire the best barn belonging to the monks, which was filled with corn, and immediately becoming mad, ran about the country in a distracted state, nor ceased raving until he was seized by his parents and bound ; having burst his bonds, and tired out his keepers, he came the next morning to the gate of the monastery, incessantly howling out, that he was inwardly burnt by the influence of the monks, and thus in a few days expired, uttering the most miserable complaints. It happened also, that a young man was struck by another in the hall of guests ; but on the following day, by divine vengeance, the aggressor was in the presence of the fraternity killed by the enemy, and in the same part of the hall where the sacred house had been violated. At another time of scarcity, while great multitudes of poor were daily crowding before the gates for relief ; by the unanimous consent of the brethren, a ship was sent to Bristol to purchase corn for charitable purposes. The vessel delayed by contrary winds, and not returning (but rather affording an opportunity for the miracle), on the very day when there would have been a total deficiency of corn, both for the poor and the convent, a field near the monastery was found suddenly to ripen, more than a month before the usual time of harvest : thus divine Providence supplied the brotherhood and the numerous poor with sufficient nourishment until autumn. By these and other signs of virtues, the place accepted by God, began to be generally esteemed and venerated.

It came to pass also in our days, during the period when the four sons of Caradoc, son of Jestin, namely, Morgan, Meredyth, Owen, and Cadwallon, nephew of Prince Rhys, bore rule for their father in those parts ; that Cadwallon, through inveterate malice, slew his

brother Owen; but divine vengeance soon overtook him; for on his making an hostile attack on a certain castle, he was dashed to pieces by the sudden falling of its walls: and thus, in the presence of a numerous body of his own and his brother's forces, suffered the punishment which his barbarous and unnatural conduct had so justly merited.

Another circumstance which happened here, deserves notice: a greyhound belonging to the aforesaid Owen, large, beautiful, and curiously spotted with a variety of colours, received seven wounds from arrows and lances, in the defence of his master, and on his part did much injury to the enemy and assassins. When his wounds were healed, he was sent to King Henry the Second, by William Earl of Gloucester, in testimony of so great and extraordinary a deed. A dog, of all animals, is most attached to man, and most easily distinguishes him: sometimes, when deprived of his master, he refuses to live, and in his master's defence, is bold enough to brave death; ready therefore to die, either with or for his master. I do not think it superfluous to insert here, an example which Suetonius gives in his book on the nature of animals, and which Ambrosius relates in his *Exameron*: "A man, accompanied by a dog, was killed in a remote part of the city of Antioch, by a soldier, for the sake of plunder. The murderer, concealed by the darkness of the morning, escaped into another part of the city: the corpse lay unburied; a large concourse of people assembled, and the dog, with bitter howlings, lamented his master's fate. The murderer by chance passed that way, and, in order to prove his innocence, mingled with the crowd of spectators, and as if moved by compassion, approached the body of the deceased. The dog,

suspending for a while his moans, assumed the arms of revenge; rushed upon the man, and seized him, howling at the same time in so dolorous a manner, that all present shed tears: it was considered as a proof against him, because the dog seized him from amongst so many, and would not let him go; and especially as neither the crime of hatred, envy, or injury could possibly, in this case, be urged against the dog. On account, therefore, of such a strong suspicion of murder (which the soldier constantly denied), it was determined that the truth of the matter should be tried by combat. The parties being assembled in a field, with a crowd of people around, the dog on one side, and the soldier, armed with a stick of a cubit's length, on the other; the murderer was at length overcome by the victorious dog, and suffered an ignominious death on the common gallows.

Pliny and Solinus relate that a certain king, who was very fond of dogs, and addicted to hunting, was taken and imprisoned by his enemies, and in a most wonderful manner liberated, without any assistance from his friends, by a pack of dogs, who had spontaneously sequestered themselves in the mountainous and woody regions, and from thence committed many atrocious acts of depredation on the neighbouring herds and flocks. I shall take this opportunity of mentioning what from experience and ocular testimony I have collected respecting the nature of dogs. A dog is in general sagacious, but particularly with respect to his master; for when he has for some time lost him in a crowd, he depends more upon his nose than upon his eyes; and, in endeavouring to find him, he first looks about, and then applies his nose, for greater certainty, to his clothes, as if nature had placed all the powers of infallibility in that feature. The

tongue of a dog possesses a medicinal quality; the wolf's, on the contrary, a poisonous: the dog heals his wounds by licking them, the wolf, by a similar practice, infects them; and the dog, if he has received a wound in his neck or head, or any part of his body where he cannot apply his tongue, ingeniously makes use of his hinder foot as a conveyance of the healing qualities to the parts affected.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER VII.

LANDAF—The original foundation of this church has, by some authors, been attributed to the British King Lucius, as early as the year 180, but we cannot collect any authentic information respecting its members till that period when Dubricius,^a a native of West Wales, was ordained and consecrated Bishop of Landaf, by Germanus Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus Bishop of Troyes. On his promotion to the archbishopric of Caerleon, A. D. 512, he was succeeded

^a The Britons had so great a dread of Vortigern, and of the Saxons whom he had associated as tributaries for their destruction "in omnium Britonum detrimentum et excidium," that they fled from them like wax from the fire, "quorum terror Britonibus tantus erat, quod Britones ab eis fugerunt sicut cera à facie ignis," and amongst them was Dubricius. Inter ceteros sanctus Episcopus Dubricius Caerguriensis in Cambriam natale solum recessit, ubi factus est primus Episcopus Landavensis, et abinde non multo post translatus est ad archipræsulatum Urbis legionum in Suth-Walliâ per Regem Aurelium Ambrosium, et duravit vir longævus in sede ipsâ archiepiscopali usque ad tempora nobilissimi Regis Britonum Arthuri, quem manu propriâ coronavit et coronatione benedixit." Ross: Warwick, p. 55.



Sir Rich^d Hoare del^t

W^m Byrne sculp^t

LANVA

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by Teilo, who founded the cathedral church under the direction of Dyvrig; it is often in old writings called Eglwys Teilo, Plwy Teilo, and Esgobaeth Teilo, the Church, the See, the Bishopric of Teilo. In the triads, Teilo is joined with Dewi (Saint David) and Padarn, under the appellation of the three holy visitors of Britain, because they went about preaching the Christian faith, without accepting any kind of reward; but on the contrary expended their patrimonies in alleviating the wants of the poor: he was one of the most distinguished saints of the British church, and lived in the latter part of the fifth, and beginning of the sixth century.

In the year 1107, Urban Archdeacon of Landaf was promoted to the bishopric vacant by the death of Herewaldus, and consecrated by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. On his appointment, he found the bishopric in so deplorable a condition, and its revenues so reduced by the bad management of his predecessor, that instead of affording a sufficient competency for the maintenance of twenty-four canons, they were scarcely adequate to the support of two: and the church having suffered much during the incursions of the Normans in these parts, had nearly fallen to the ground. Making known this grievance to Pope Calixtus the Second, at the council of Rheims in 1119, he obtained from him circular letters to the king, the archbishop, and his own diocesans, earnestly exhorting them to contribute towards the necessary repairs of his church. Having raised a considerable subsidy, he pulled down the ruinous old church, which was only twenty-eight feet in length, fifteen in breadth, and twenty in height, and began in the month of April 1120, a new structure, which was three hundred feet in length, eighty feet in breadth, and thirty feet in height; built with hewn stone, adorned with two lofty

turrets on the western side, and a most splendid chapel dedicated to our Lady: when the fabric of the cathedral was completed, he added residentiary houses for himself and his canons, and then applied his attention towards the recovery of the estates which had been unjustly usurped and alienated from the see by Bernard the Norman, Bishop of Saint David's, and Richard Bishop of Hereford; but during the prosecution of these suits, he died on his journey to Rome, A. D. 1133, where sentence had been pronounced in his favour by the Pope.

John Marshall, elected bishop in 1478, decorated the cathedral with a new altar-piece of free-stone, painted with roses and hyacinths alternately. The northern tower was built by Jasper, created Duke of Bedford, A. D. 1485, and is the only one now remaining. The last alterations (and innovations I may add) took place about 1751,² when a Grecian temple started up within the walls of an elegant Gothic cathedral; its unnatural and unseemly appearance has been so often and so justly criticised and condemned, that I shall pass it over in that silence, which it so amply merits. The ancient building presents a mixture of Saxon and Gothic architecture, but the latter preponderates; the western front is richly ornamented with lancet windows of various heights and dimensions (as may be seen in the annexed plate): over the entrance door-way to this front is the figure in relief of a bishop holding up one hand in the act of benediction, and in the other his pastoral staff, intended probably

² From the inquiries I have made at Landaf, I am inclined to think that Wood (the Bath architect) was the designer of these ill-judged innovations; the date of 1752, inscribed upon the key-stone of the new door, ascertains the period in which they took place.

to represent either Saint Dubricius, or Saint Teilo: in a more elevated part of this front is another figure sitting, with a book in one hand, and the other uplifted. On the north and south sides of the building are two Saxon door-ways, the former very rich in its decorations; on entering the western portal, the greater part of the nave and two side aisles appear in ruins: three Gothic arches remain on each side, and from a fragment still left, we perceive that the windows in the upper story were divided into three compartments, the centre arch the widest. The columns are taper and clustered, their capitals varied and very neatly sculptured, resembling the delicate foliage of the Corinthian order; many of the small heads, with which the ribs of the arches terminate, are full of expression. The Italian façade of the present church intersects the ancient nave; and the choir has been completely Italianized: the side aisles are Gothic, and the same light and airy style prevails in the Lady's chapel, opposite which, behind the choir, is a Saxon arch, the only specimen I saw of that order, excepting in the door-ways before mentioned. On a careful examination and comparison of this cathedral with the abbey of Lanthoni in Monmouthshire, which was built about the same time (and though richer in its ornaments, bears a great resemblance to Landaf, as to its general architecture), we have evident proofs that the Saxon and Gothic orders, or the round and pointed arches, were adopted indiscriminately to doors and windows in the same buildings about the beginning of the twelfth century.

The present position of the monuments in this cathedral differs so widely, from that assigned to them by Browne Willis in his plan of the church, that I have been under the necessity of

engraving a new plan, in order to mark, with greater accuracy, their present situation.

REFERENCE TO THE MONUMENTS.

1. A gravestone, on which a cross is sculptured.
2. Monument of a bishop.
3. A large proportioned figure of a skeleton in a shroud, under a Gothic niche. Many fanciful and ridiculous traditions have been attributed to similar effigies, which are very common in our old churches, and were most probably designed as emblems of mortality.

At the upper end of this northern aisle was the chapel of the Matthews family, in which two fine alabaster monuments are still extant.

4. The recumbent effigy of a knight in armour, booted and spurred, with a lion at his feet: the proportions of this figure are large, and are said to represent David Matthew the Great, who was standard-bearer to King Edward the Fourth, and was murdered at Neath by some one of the Turberville family, with whom he was at variance.

5. A very rich tomb, painted and gilded, representing a male and female figure in alabaster; the former clothed in armour, short hair, hands uplifted, and a lion at his feet: the latter habited in long loose robes, rich and singular head-dress, and ruffles round her arms. Nine figures were once painted on the wall at the back of this monument, but the heads of two only are at present discernible. The base of this altar tomb is richly decorated with small figures, chiefly in religious habits; in the

centre are two holding a shield of arms, on which is a lion and griffin, the coats of Morgan and Matthews; these figures have a singular ornament attached to their backs, resembling wings: round the edge of this tomb is an inscription in old characters, thus recorded by Browne Willis:

“ ORATE PRO ANIMABUS CHRISTOPHORI MATTHEW ARMIGERI, ET ELISABETH UXORIS SUE, QUÆ QUIDEM ELISABETH OBIIT PENULTIMO DIE JANUARIÏ, A. D. M. D. VICES^o SEXTO, ET PRÆDICTUS CHRISTOPHORUS OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCCC^o QUORUM ANIMABUS PROPITIETUR DEUS. AMEN.”

6. The effigies of two bishops rudely sculptured.

7. The figure of a female, very finely sculptured in alabaster, habited in a long loose robe, which covers her feet, and veiled: at the back of the monument are the figures of two monks, holding an escutcheon of arms. The personage here represented, is said to be Christian Audley, the wife perhaps of John Lord Audley, a person of great property in these parts, who took an active part in suppressing the insurrection of Owen Glyndwr, in the reign of King Henry the Fourth. N. B. This tomb is marked No. 16 in Browne Willis's plan.

8. The gravestone of a bishop.

9. A gravestone, on which is embossed the head of a monk.

10. On the south side of the cathedral is the chapter-house, where I saw with regret the disjointed remains of a most elegant and costly tomb of alabaster, scattered about in the wildest disorder. It represents the effigies of a knight in armour, with hands uplifted, bearing a dagger on his right side, and a sword on his

left: his head rests upon an helmet, and his gauntlets lie by his right side; at his feet is a lion: near him reposes a female, habited in long robes, with a curious head-dress: the base of this tomb was of the same materials, richly painted and decorated with small figures of knights and monks in separate niches. I imagine this to be the monument numbered 2 in Browne Willis's plan, which he places between the fourth and fifth pillar on the north side of the nave, and attributes to Sir William Matthew of Aradyr, about one mile distant from Landaf. The following inscription was round the edge of the tomb:

“ ORATE PRO ANIMABUS WILLIELMI MATTHEW MILITIS, QUI OBIIT
DECIMO DIE MARTII, A. D. MCCCC^o VICES^o VIII. ETIAM JENETTE UXORIS
EJUS QUE DEO REDDIDIT SPIRITUM DIE MENSIS A. D.
MILL^o CCCCC TRICES^o QUORUM ANIMABUS PROPITIETUR DEUS
AMEN.”

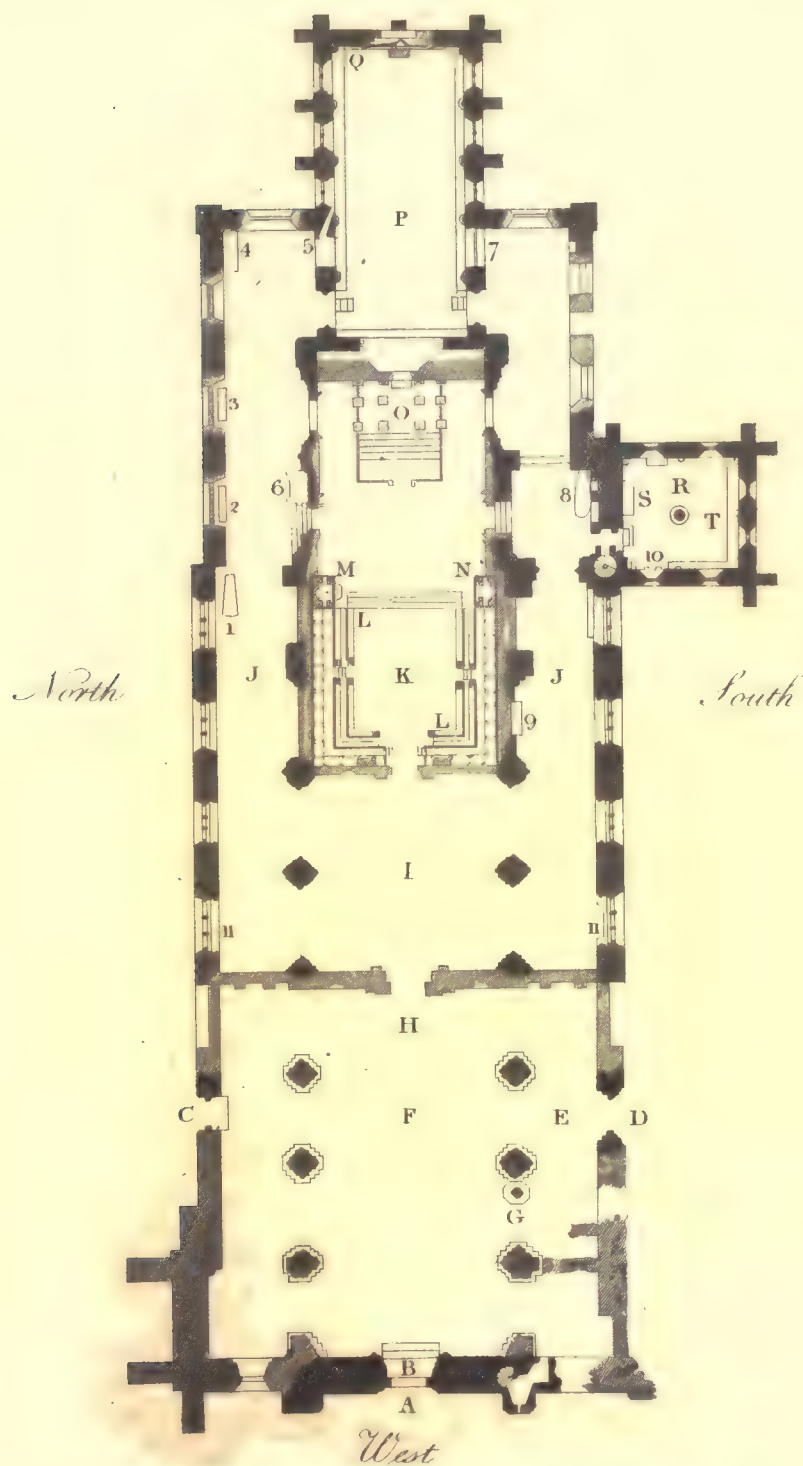
The different parts of this fine monument, though disjointed, are in a good state of preservation, and might still be restored. The church contains many other sepulchral monuments of lesser note, and amongst them two attributed to Saint Dubricius and Saint Teilo, but, I believe, on no very good authority. There are some trifling remains of the bishop's palace, which was destroyed by Owen Glyndwr: it stood south-east of the church, and its site is now occupied by a large mansion house belonging to the family of Matthew.

11. Arched recesses.

N. B. The walls of the darkest tint are the most ancient part of the fabric.

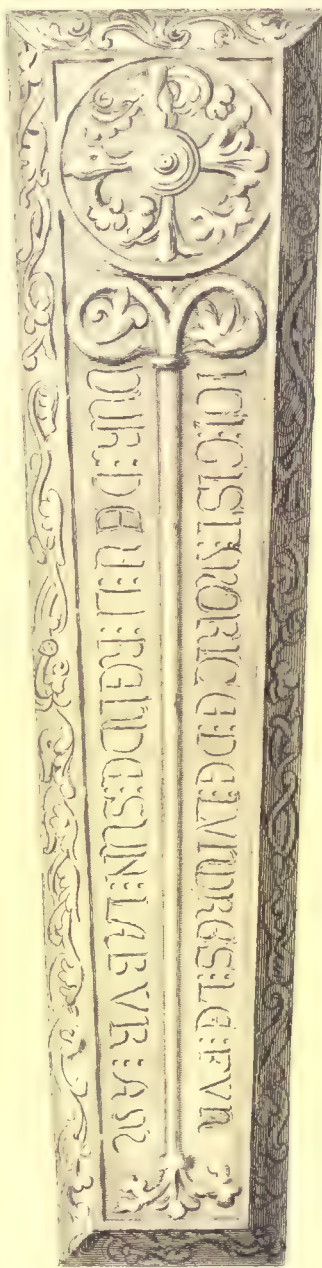
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

East

John Carver del^t
$$17. \quad 16 \frac{1}{2} \times 10^3 \times 10^3 \times 10^3 \times 10^3$$

Published 1 March 1866, by William Miller Albemarle Street London

TOMB OF NEHEMIAH



En l'année 1666 le fondeur
Dieu lui rende son labour Amen.

REFERENCE TO THE PLAN OF LANDAF CATHEDRAL.

- A. West front.
- B. West door-way.
- C. North ditto.
- D. South ditto.
- E. Side aisles.
- F. Nave.
- G. Remains of the font.
- H. Modern west front.
- I. Continuation of the nave.
- J. Continuation of the side aisles.
- K. Modern choir fitted up in the Grecian style.
- L. Stalls.
- M. Pulpit.
- N. Bishop's throne.
- O. Altar placed within a Grecian portico.
- P. Our Lady's chapel.
- Q. Altar screen.
- R. Vestry.
- S. Chest.
- T. Seats.

N. B. All that part of the church from A to G is in ruins, and roofless.

SERIES OF THE BISHOPS OF LANDAF.

1. Dubritius, resigned the see A. D. 512, on his promotion to the Archbishopric of Caerleon to
2. Teliau.
3. Oudoceus.
4. Ubilwynus.
5. Aidanus.
6. Elgistil.
7. Lunapeius.
8. Comegern, or Comergwinus
9. Argwistil.
10. Gurvan.
11. Guodloiu.
12. Edilbinus.
13. Grecielus.
14. Berthgwin.
15. Trychan.
16. Elvogus.
17. Catgwaret
18. Cerenhir.
19. Nobis.
20. Gulfridus.
21. Nudd.
22. Cimeliauc.
23. Libian. Died A. D. 929.
24. Marchluith. Died A. D. 943.

25. Pater.

26. Gucan, or Gogwan; consecrated A. D. 982.

27. Bledri. Died A. D. 1022.

28. Joseph. Died A. D. 1046.³

29. Herewaldus. Died A. D. 1103, aged above 100 years.

30. Urbanus. Died A. D. 1133.

[The see vacant six years.]

31. Uhtrid. Consecrated A. D. 1139; died A. D. 1148.

32. Galfridus. Died A. D. 1153.⁴

33. Nicolaus ap Gurgant. Died A. D. 1183.

34. Gulielmus de Salso Marisco, whom our author, Giraldus, calls "virum bonum, discretum, et honestum," presided over the see of Landaf at this time; and received the archbishop and his attendants, on their journey through Wales.

Having successfully, by their sermons, promoted the holy cause at Landaf, the crusaders proceeded towards the Cistercian monastery of Margan, passing on their journey near the little cell of Benedictines at Ewenith, or Ewenny, whose embattled towers and antiquated appearance would, in modern days, naturally attract the attention of every investigating traveller on his road from Cowbridge to Pyle, and induce him to deviate half a mile from the turnpike road. Both Leland and Tanner ascribe the foundation of this religious house to

³ During the episcopacy of Joseph, Ritherch ap Jestyn Prince of Wales granted many privileges to the church of Landaf, and confirmed to it all the former grants, of which a long list may be seen in Godwyn's account of the Bishops of this See, p. 600.

⁴ Godwyn has committed a mistake in naming Galfridus as the 33d Bishop of Landaf, whereas he was elected to the see of St. Asaph, A. D. 1151, and Nicolaus ap Gurgant was the immediate successor of Uhtrid in 1149.

Sir John de Londres, lord of Ogmores castle; but his name does not occur in the pedigree of that family given by Powel in his History of Wales; which is as follows:

1. William de Londres received, in reward of service, from Robert Fitz-Hamon, the castle and manor of Ogmores, and won afterwards the lordship of Carnewilhon, in Caermarthenshire from the Welshmen.

2. Simon his son succeeded to him.

3. William de Londres succeeded his father Simon, and had issue one son.

4. Moris de Londres, who left an only daughter, married to one Seward, a man of great property: she had by him one daughter, who married Henry Earl of Lancaster, whose son Henry was afterwards created Duke of Lancaster; and thus the three lordships of Ogmores, Cidwelly, and Carnewilhon, became parcels of the Duchy of Lancaster.

An ancient tomb-stone, which lies neglected in the floor of the chancel (of which the annexed plate is a faithful representation), fixes, for a certainty, the foundation of this church on the aforesaid Moris de Londres.

When I consider the dark situation to which this interesting monument is consigned, and that, after repeated visits, I am indebted only to a transient gleam of sunshine for the discovery of its inscription, I am not surprised that my friend Mr. Wyndham, or any subsequent tourist, could not decipher it: by many, indeed, Ewenny has been totally overlooked and unnoticed.

In the year 1141, Moris de Londres gave to the church of Saint Peter at Gloucester, the church of Saint Michael de Ewenny; and

Gilbert de Turberville, lord of the adjoining castle of Coyty, confirmed the several grants of his father and ancestors to the said priory of Ewenny.

The antiquarian who travels through Wales, with a view of examining the early monuments of English architecture, will find the church of Ewenny particularly worthy of his notice. So much has been said about the Saxon, Norman, and Gothic styles, that I shall not offer my opinion on a subject which has occasioned such a variety of conjectures. From the certain foundation of this church by a Norman lord, and not many years subsequent to the Conquest, we have good reason to suppose that the Norman mode of building might have been made use of in its construction. It is situated in a marshy plain near the banks of the little river Ewenny, which abounds with trout, and whose waters never fail. The exterior form of the church is massive, and corresponds with the simple style of architecture which pervades the interior; it is a cathedral in miniature, consisting of a nave, one aisle, two transepts, and a choir. The columns which support the arches in the nave are round and heavy; the windows long, narrow, and rounded at top; the turret is supported by four wide circular arches, springing from short Norman pillars which rest on pilasters ornamented with the hatched moulding. The simple groined roof of the choir, and the neglected tombstone of its founder, bearing this inscription in old characters, claim particular attention.

ICI GIST MORICE DE LUNDRES LE FVNDUR
DEU LI RENDE SUN LABUR. AM.

In the southern transept is an ancient altar tomb, supporting the

mutilated effigy of a knight in armour, bearing a shield on his left arm; the personage to whom this sepulchral memorial was erected, has never as yet been clearly ascertained, and has been vulgarly attributed by the whole tribe of modern tourists to Paganus de Turberville, lord of Coyty. The same happy gleam of sunshine, a pail of water, and a broom, enabled me to ascertain the true original of this effigy, which was intended probably to commemorate a friend or follower of Moris de Londres:

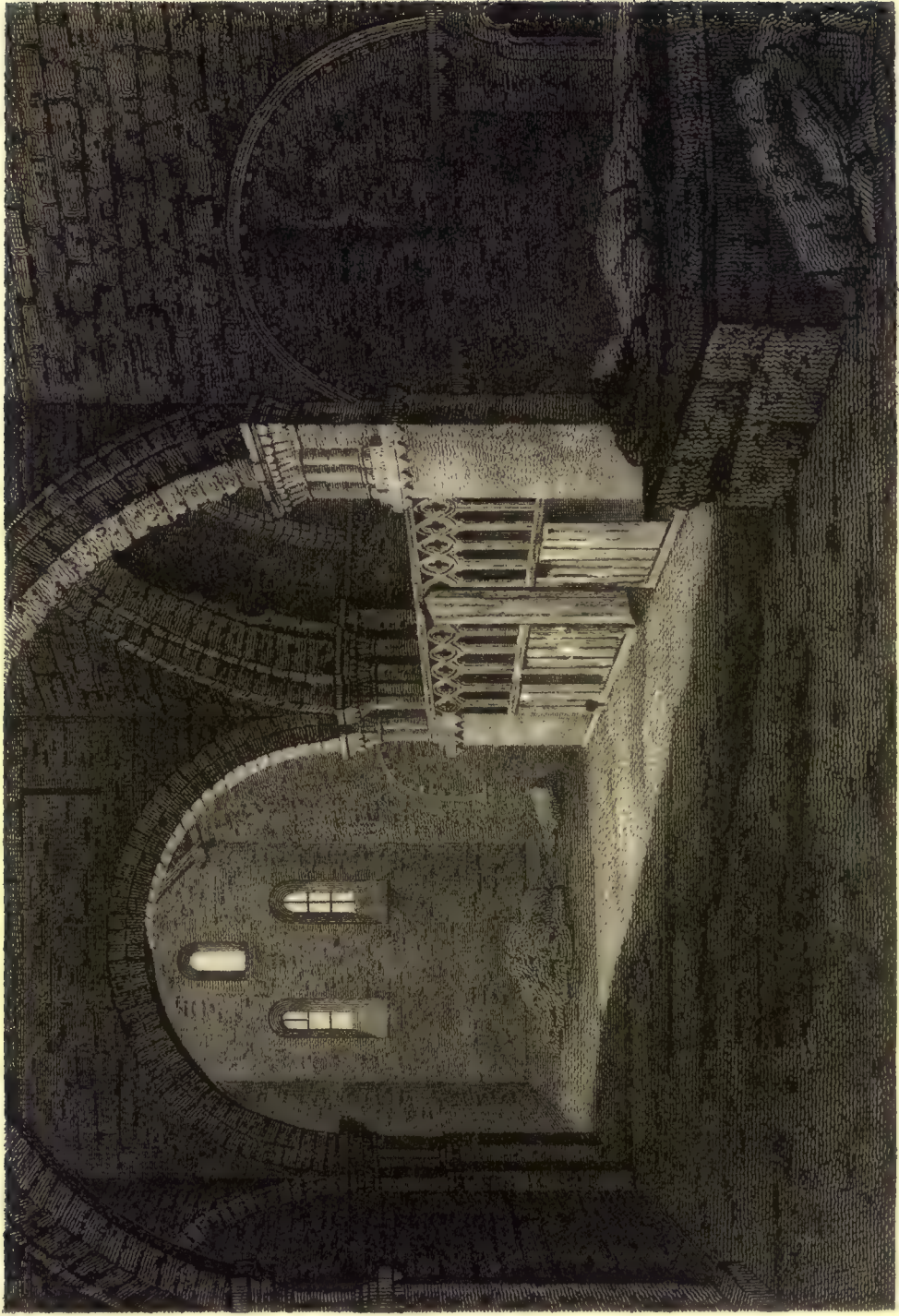
SIRE ROGER DE REMI. GIST ISCI.

DEU DE SON ALME EIT MERCI AM

The orthography and character of the letters fix the date of this monument to the same period with the preceding. The church contains many other more modern inscriptions to the memory of the Carne family, who were possessors of this estate; one of which, more stately than the rest, bears a long inscription in antiquated verse on its base, and in front these lines:

“ Here lys Ewenny’s hope, Ewenny’s pride,
 “ In him both flourish’d, and in him both dyd.
 “ Death haveing seis’d him, linger’d loath to be
 “ The ruine of this worthy family.”

The satisfaction with which I viewed this building, as having remained untouched, unaltered, since the days of Giraldus, and I might add also from the early period of its foundation, was considerably damped on beholding its present ruinous and dilapidated condition: in many places uncovered and exposed to the rude elements, its windows unglazed, the curious stone groined roof of its choir cracked, its



St. Bon's, Har- der,

Mr. Byne, 1841,

St. Bon's, Har- der, Mr. Byne, 1841,

tomb-stones, and amongst them that of its parent and founder, carelessly thrown about in the wildest confusion; in short, this old and once respected sanctuary, after an existence of nearly seven hundred years, is now approaching most rapidly towards its dissolution.—A large old mansion-house (which has also seen better days), adjoining the church, is still in a more ruinous condition than the Norman sanctuary. The different turrets, gateways, and embattled walls which surround the church, give it more the appearance of a military, than of a religious establishment. This estate at the Dissolution was granted as part of the possessions of Saint Peter's at Gloucester to Edwars Carne, in whose family it continued for many years, and has since reverted to the family of Turberville.

Let us now conduct our crusaders to the Cistercian monastery of Margan, dignified by Giraldus with the title of “nobile;” and justly celebrated for the extensive charities which its members exercised. This abbey was founded A. D. 1147, by Robert Earl of Gloucester, who died in the same year, and was buried in the priory of Saint James at Bristol. I can gain but little information respecting this monastery: Dugdale recites the charter of King John confirming the several grants of lands made to it; and at the Dissolution, we find it was granted to Sir Rice Mansell, Knight, in the possession of whose family, it remained for several subsequent years. Gale, in his collection of old historians, has preserved the *Annales de Margan* from the year 1066 to 1232; they contain a general chronological history of the principal military and ecclesiastical events which took place within that interval, but throw very little light upon the history of the abbey; they inform us that William was the first abbot, and that he died A. D. 1153; that he was succeeded by Andrew,

who died 1155, and that in the year 1187, the altar of the Holy Trinity, in the church belonging to this abbey, was consecrated by William, Bishop of Landaf, in the month of November :⁵ the succession of abbots is here interrupted. The Annals inform us, that in 1210 King John demanded a subsidy from the Cistercian monks, which they refused to pay, on account of their privileges; whereupon he extorted, by force, from their convents in England and Wales, 27000 marks, two houses only of the order being exempted from the contribution; Beaulieu in Hampshire, as being of royal foundation, and Margan in Glamorganshire, because the king and his army had been entertained there on their passage to Ireland.

Gilbert is recorded as the third abbot; he died A. D. 1213, and was succeeded by John, a monk of the same monastery, after which period the abbey suffered greatly by the hostile devastations of the Welsh. A. D. 1217, Gilbert de Clare took possession of the two earldoms of Gloucester and Hereford, as his inheritance, and at the same time confirmed to the abbey of Margan, all the lands and liberties which had been granted to it by his ancestors and dependants. Stevens, in his supplement to Dugdale, recites a grant of lands made to this abbey by Thomas de Aven, dated A. D. 1349. As no mention is made of Margan amongst the manors and lordships bestowed by Robert Fitz Hamon on his Norman knights and fellow soldiers, it is very probable that he reserved it for himself, together with the neighbouring town of Kenfigg, of which there is scarcely a vestige remaining.

Of this once famed sanctuary nothing now remains but the shell

⁵ Item hoc anno consecratum est altare Sanctæ Trinitatis abbatiæ nostræ de Margan, a domino Willielmo Landavensi Episcopo, quarto Kal. Novembris.



W. H. C. del.

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of its chapter-house, which, by neglect, has lost its most ornamental parts. When Mr. Wyndham made the tour of Wales in the year 1777, this elegant building was entire, and was accurately drawn and engraved by his order; some years afterwards I found it still perfect: in the year 1793, it had suffered much from the plants that grew upon its stone roof; two of the windows had fallen, and the centre column had given way; a little attention and a trifling expense would even then have preserved this beautiful building for many years; but the happy opportunity was lost, and in the year 1802 I saw with regret the roof and shaft lying prostrate on the ground.

Its form, however, is fortunately handed down to posterity by Mr. Grimm's drawing, which is published in Mr. Wyndham's tour. In this building, as well as in the small fragments attached to it, the pointed arch seems to prevail, but the adjoining parish church presents a most beautiful and unadulterated specimen of Norman architecture in its interior, as well as in its western front. The arches in the nave are lofty, circular, and supported on pilasters; the windows in the left aisle are small, and circular at top, the external façade is more decorated in its architecture than Ewenny, and bears the marks of much earlier antiquity than any part of the adjoining abbey which is now extant. It is rich also in monumental antiquities. On the south side of the choir is a chapel, crowded with sculptured memorials of the Mansell family, whose effigies are in general well executed, and the features in a good state of preservation. Having so frequently, during my excursions, witnessed the decay and wanton destruction of these interesting records of antiquity, I should ill deserve the title of antiquarian, were I to omit

mentioning those monuments which may occur during the progress of my present itinerary.

No. 1. Lodovicus Mansell Eques et Baronettus. He is represented in a recumbent posture, clothed in armour, booted and spurred, with hands uplifted; short hair, laced shirt hanging over his shoulders, head reposing on a cushion, a long sword on his left side, a hawk at his feet, and his body reclining on a piece of matting.

No. 2. A male and female effigy: the former clothed in armour, long beard, short hair curled, and a sword at his side: the latter has a ruff round her neck, sleeves plaited and gathered: the hands of both are uplifted, and their heads repose on cushions. At the upper end of the pedestal of this tomb, are two male and one female figure, small life, with their names affixed over each; viz. Sir Edward Mansell, Anthony Mansell, Marie: on the side are two female figures kneeling.

No. 3. The adjoining tomb represents also a male and female effigy, recumbent, and with hands uplifted; the former has a long beard, short hair, ruff round his neck, and (as well as the female figure) ruffles round his arms: he is booted, and wears a sword on his side: the base of this monument is decorated with small figures kneeling, and has been painted and gilt.

No. 4. This tomb has three figures, one male recumbent between two females, painted and gilt. The male is represented with short hair, and long beard; their heads rest on cushions, and all have ruffs round their necks: at the upper end of the pedestal are three male, and one female figure, small life; viz. Lewis Mansell, Knight, Henry Mansell, Esq. Mary Mansell, married to Sir Edward

ANCIENT CROSS



John Carter del.

— 2 — feet

James Balfour sculp.

Printed by W. & A. G. & Co. 15, Abchurch Lane, London.

Stradling of Saint Donat's. All these sepulchral effigies are well executed, some in marble, others in alabaster.

There are various fragments of monastic antiquity dispersed about the village of Margan: near the road side is an old cross, bearing an inscription, which has been doomed to serve as a bridge for foot passengers over a little rivulet: and in the village are the fragments of a most beautiful cross, richly decorated with fretwork: several grave-stones, with simple crosses on them, have been lately discovered, on removing the rubbish from the chapter-house.

CHAPTER VIII.

PASSAGE OF THE RIVERS AVON AND NETH—ABERTAWE AND GOER.

CONTINUING our journey, not far from Margan, where the alternate vicissitudes of a sandy shore and the tide commence, we forded over the river Avon, having been considerably delayed by the ebbing sea; and under the guidance of Morgan, eldest son of Caradoc, proceeded along the sea-shore towards the river Neth, which, on account of its quicksands, is the most dangerous and inaccessible river in South Wales. A pack-horse belonging to the author, which had proceeded by the lower way near the sea, although in the midst of many others, was the only one which sunk down into the abyss, but he was at last, with great difficulty, extricated, and not without some damage being done to the package and books. Yet although we had Morgan the prince of that country as our conductor, we did not reach the river without great peril, and some severe falls; for the alarm occasioned by this unusual kind of road, made us hasten our steps over the quicksands, in opposition to the advice of our guide, and fear quickened our pace; whereas, through these difficult passages, as we there learned, the mode of proceeding should be with moderate speed. But as the fords of that river experience a change by every monthly tide, and cannot be found after violent rains and floods, we did not attempt the ford, but passed the river in a boat, leaving the monastery of Neth on our right hand; approaching

again to the district of Saint David's and leaving the diocese of Landaf (which we had entered at Abergavenny) behind us.

It happened in our days that David the Second, Bishop of Saint David's, passing this way, and finding the ford agitated by a recent storm, a chaplain of those parts named Rotherch Falcus, being conversant in the proper method of crossing these rivers, undertook, at the desire of the Bishop, the dangerous task of trying the ford. Having mounted a large and powerful horse, which had been selected from the whole train for this purpose, he immediately crossed the ford, and fled with great rapidity to the neighbouring woods, nor could he be induced to return until the suspension which he had lately incurred, was removed, and a full promise of security and indemnity obtained; the horse was then restored to one party, and the missal to the other.

Entering the province called Goer, we spent the night at the castle of Sweynsei, which in Welsh is called Abertawe, or the fall of the river Tawe into the sea. The next morning, the people being assembled after mass, and many having been induced to take the cross, an aged man of that district, named Cador, thus addressed the Archbishop: "My lord, if I now enjoyed my former strength, and the vigour of youth, no alms should ransom me, no desire of inactivity restrain me from engaging in the laudable undertaking you preach; but since my weak age, and the injuries of time deprive me of this desirable benefit (for approaching years bring with them many comforts, which those that are passed take away), if I cannot, owing to the infirmity of my body, attain a full merit; yet, suffer me, by giving a tenth of all I possess, to attain the half:" then falling down at the feet of the Archbishop, he deposited in his hands

for the service of the cross, the tenth of his estate, weeping bitterly, and intreating from him the remission of one half of the enjoined penance. After a short time he returned, and thus continued: "My lord, if the will directs the action, and is itself for the most part considered as the act, and as I have a full and firm inclination to undertake this journey, I request a remission of the remaining part of the penance, and in addition to my former gift, I will equal the sum from the residue of my tenths." The Archbishop smiling at his devout ingenuity, embraced him with admiration.

On the same night two monks, who waited in the Archbishop's chamber conversing about the occurrences of their journey, and the dangers of the road, one of them said (alluding to the wildness of the country), "That province is rough;" the other (alluding to the quicksands), wittily replied, "Yet yesterday it was found too soft."

A short time before our days, a circumstance worthy of note occurred in these parts, which Elidorus, a priest, most strenuously affirmed had befallen himself. When a youth of twelve years, since, as Solomon says, "The root of learning is bitter, although the fruit is sweet," and following his literary pursuits, in order to avoid the discipline and frequent stripes inflicted on him by his preceptor, he ran away, and concealed himself under the hollow bank of a river, and after fasting in that situation for two days, two little men of pigmy stature appeared to him, saying, "If you will come with us, we will lead you into a country full of delights and sports:" assenting and rising up, he followed his guides through a path, at first subterraneous and dark, into a most beautiful country, adorned with rivers and meadows, woods and plains, but obscure, and not illuminated with the full light of the sun. All the days were

cloudy, and the nights extremely dark, on account of the absence of the moon and stars. The boy was brought before the king, and introduced to him in the presence of the court; when having examined him for a long time, he delivered him to his son, who was then a boy. These men were of the smallest stature, but very well proportioned in their make: they were all of a fair complexion, with luxuriant hair falling over their shoulders like that of women. They had horses and greyhounds adapted to their size. They neither eat flesh nor fish, but lived on milk diet, made up into messes with saffron. They never took an oath, for they detested nothing so much as lies. As often as they returned from our upper hemisphere, they reprobated our ambition, infidelities, and inconstancies: they had no form of public worship, being strict lovers and reverers, as it seemed, of truth.

The boy frequently returned to our hemisphere, sometimes by the way he had first gone, sometimes by another: at first in company with other persons, and afterwards alone, and made himself known only to his mother, declaring to her the manners, nature, and state of that people. Being desired by her to bring a present of gold, with which that region abounded, he stole, while at play with the king's son, the golden ball with which he used to divert himself, and brought it to his mother in great haste; and when he reached the door of his father's house, but not unpursued, and was entering it in a great hurry, his foot stumbled on the threshold, and falling down into the room where his mother was sitting, the two pigmies seized the ball which had dropped from his hand, and departed, shewing the boy every mark of contempt and derision. On recovering from his fall, confounded with shame, and execrating the evil counsel of

his mother, he returned by the usual track to the subterraneous road, but found no appearance of any passage, though he searched for it on the banks of the river for nearly the space of a year. But since those calamities are often alleviated by time, which reason cannot mitigate, and length of time alone blunts the edge of our afflictions, and puts an end to many evils; the youth having been brought back by his friends and mother, and restored to his right way of thinking, and his literary pursuits, in process of time attained the rank of priesthood. Whenever David the Second, Bishop of Saint David's, talked to him in his advanced state of life concerning this event, he could never relate the particulars without shedding tears. He had made himself acquainted with the language of that nation, the words of which, in his younger days, he used to recite, which, as the bishop often had informed me, were very conformable to the Greek idiom. When they asked for water, they said Udor Udorum, which in Latin signifies, bring water, for Udor in their language, as well as in the Greek, signifies water, from whence vessels for water are called *υδριαί*; and Dwr also, in the British language, signifies water. When they want salt, they say, Halgein Udorum, bring salt: salt is called *αλ* in Greek, and Halen in British, for that language, from the length of time which the Britons (then called Trojans, and afterwards Britons, from Brito their leader) remained in Greece after the destruction of Troy, became, in many instances, similar to the Greek.

It is remarkable that so many languages should correspond in one word, *αλ* in Greek, Halen in British, and Halgein in the Irish tongue, the g being inserted; Sal in Latin, because, as Priscianus says, "the s is placed in some words instead of an aspirate," as *αλς* in Greek is

called Sal in Latin, $\epsilon\mu\iota$ —semi— $\epsilon\sigma\gamma\alpha$ —septem—Sel in French—the α being changed into ϵ .—Salt in English, by the addition of t to the Latin; Sout, in the Teutonic language: there are therefore seven or eight languages agreeing in this one word. If a scrupulous inquirer should ask my opinion of the relation here inserted, I answer with Augustin, “that the divine miracles are to be admired, not discussed:” nor do I, by denial, place bounds to the divine power, nor by assent, insolently extend what cannot be extended. But I always call to mind the saying of Saint Jerom; “You will find,” says he, “many things incredible and improbable, which nevertheless are true; for nature cannot in any respect prevail against the lord of nature.” These things, therefore, and similar contingencies, I should place, according to the opinion of Augustin, among those particulars which are neither to be affirmed, nor too positively denied.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER VIII.

IN continuing their journey from Neth to Sweynsei, or Swansea, our travellers directed their course by the sea-coast to the river Avon, which they forded, and continuing their road along the sands, were probably ferried over the river Neth, at a place now known by the name of Breton Ferry, leaving the monastery of Neth at some distance to the right: from thence traversing another tract of sands,

and crossing the river Tawe, they arrived at the Castle of Sweynsei, where they passed the night.

The monastery of Neth was situated on the banks of a river bearing the same name, about a mile to the westward of the town and castle. It was founded by Richard de Grainville, or Greenefeld, and Constance his wife, for the safety of the souls of Robert Earl of Gloucester, Mawd his wife, and William his son. Richard de Grainville was one of the twelve Norman knights who accompanied Robert Fitz-Hamon, and assisted him in the conquest of Glamorganshire. He received, in recompense for his services, the lordship of Neth; all of which, as well as the chapel in his castle at Neth, he gave to the abbot and convent of Savigny near Lyons in France, on condition that he should build and maintain a monastic establishment at Neth. This abbey was at first inhabited by monks of the order of Savigny, or *Fratres Grisei*, who became afterwards Cistercians, or *Monachi Albi*. Notwithstanding the original donation to Savigny, we do not find that this religious house was ever subject to any foreign abbey, or accounted as alien. There seems to be some contradiction amongst authors respecting the dedication of this monastery. Tanner says, it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity; but Wood, in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, mentions John Lleson as abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Saint Mary at Neth: from the original grant of Richard de Grainville, inserted in the *Monasticon*, it appears that he gave his lands at Neth to the church of the Holy Trinity at Savigny; and in the subsequent charter of King John, confirming the former grants and donations to this abbey, he styles it the Church of the Holy Trinity at Neth. In these several historical documents, the name of the founder is very differently spelt, viz. Grainvilla, Granavill, and

Grenvill: and Powel, in his Welsh Chronicle, spells it Greenfeeld. This abbey was supported by considerable benefactions, and appears to have been very opulent. In the reign of King Stephen, Henry Earl of Warwick gave to the abbey of Neth certain lands and fisheries in Glamorganshire, within his territories of Gowherland. We find also, from the account of the perambulation of the forests in Somersetshire, published in Adam de Domerham's *Historia Glastoniensis*, that the abbot of Neth held the manor of Exeford in that county, with its rights and appendages. Leland, speaking of this monastery, says, "That it semid to him the fairest abbay in all Wales." The series of its abbots is very uncertain: the *Annales de Margan* mention Richard (who died A. D. 1145) as the first; and Browne Willis records John Lleson as the last abbot. From the same Annals we learn, that in the year 1224, Morgan ap Owen burned down "*domum monachorum de Neth*," and destroyed four hundred sheep, killing four of their domestics, and wounding severely one of the monks, and killing another. The *Myvyrian Archæology* has preserved a most interesting memorial respecting the architect who was employed in constructing this monastery.

"A. D. 1111, Richard Granville, who had obtained the lordship of Glynn Nedd, returned to Wales. Having visited the holy sepulchre, he built the monastery of Glynn Nedd, and endowed it with a great part of his lands, restoring the remainder to the once rightful proprietors of the nation of the Cymry. He brought a person with him from the land of Canaan, of the name of Lalys, a man eminent in the art of masonry, who constructed the most celebrated monasteries, castles, and churches in the country. He obtained

lands in Llangewydd, and built Lalyston (Trev Lalys) and removed the church to that place; after that he went to London, and was architect to King Henry the First, and he taught the art to many of the Welsh and English."

Although by this curious document we are able to ascertain the date of the original foundation of the abbey of Neth, yet, on a review of its ruins, we see no fragments of architecture that mark so early a period as the year 1112, about which time I conclude it was built. In the time of Leland, this abbey was in a high state of preservation, for he says, "Neth abbay of white monkes a mile above Neth town, standing in the ripe of Neth, semid to me the fairest abbay of al Wales." (Leland Itin. Tom V. p. 14.) The remains of the abbey and of the adjoining priory-house are considerable, but present no picturesque beauties whatever. The artist's eye may indeed, in a great degree, be unfairly prejudiced against the ruins, by the very dirty and unharmonized tints which they assume; and the very same forms placed in a solitary and woodland vale might become the objects of attention and admiration. This ancient retirement of the grey and white monks, is now occupied by the dingy inhabitants of the neighbouring copper-works. In a field nearly opposite to the ruins of the abbey lies a well-sculptured effigy of an abbot, holding the model of a church in his hand, intended probably to perpetuate the memory of the person who either built or repaired the church. Within the village of Neth are some remains of its ancient castle, of which history has left the following memorial: its original construction may be attributed to Richard de Granville: it was besieged A. D. 1185 for the second time, and held out manfully till an army came

from England to its relief, and put to flight the Welsh who had besieged it, and burned to pieces a large machine which they had erected against it.^a It was again attacked by Llewelyn, A.D. 1231, who, after an unsuccessful attempt on the castles of Brecknock and Caerleon, crossed the mountains, and laid siege to the castle at Neth, which he shortly took and destroyed, together with the town and its inhabitants.

Goer or Gower—the western district of Glamorganshire, appears to have been first conquered by Henry de Newburgh^b Earl of Warwick, soon after Robert Duke of Gloucester had made the conquest of the other part of Glamorganshire. “Non multo post Henricus de Novoburgo Comes Warrewici et Noviburgi conquirit gladio super Wallenses terram quæ dicitur Goherland.” (Ross Warwick, p. 110.) This earl is described as “dulcis et quieti animi vir, et qui congruo suis moribus studio vitam egit et clausit.” His son Roger succeeded to his earldom, and is said by Dugdale (History of Warwickshire, p. 304) to have been the conqueror of Gowherland in Wales, which his posterity for a long time afterwards enjoyed. A cotemporary author has described him as “vir mollis, et deliciis magis quam animi fortitudine affluens.”

Sweynsei—Swansea, or Abertawe, situated at the confluence of the river Tawe with the Severn sea, is a town of considerable

^a Castellum quoque de Neth secundo obsessum et fortiter aliquandiu oppugnatum, donec ab Angliâ veniens exercitus Francigenarum, fugavit agmen hostile Wallensium, machinâ quam fecerant, igne crematâ. Annales de Margan, p. 9.

^b Henry de Novoburgo, so called from Newburgh in Normandy, the place of his birth, was the youngest son of Roger de Bellomont, and created Earl of Warwick by William the Conqueror. Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 302.

commerce, and much frequented during the summer months as a bathing-place. The old castle, now made use of as a prison, is so surrounded by houses in the middle of the town, that a stranger might visit Swansea without knowing that such a building existed. The Welsh Chronicle informs us, that it was built by Henry Beaumont Earl of Warwick, and that in the year 1113, it was attacked by Gruffydd ap Rhys, but without success. This castle became afterwards a part of the possessions of the see of Saint David's, and was rebuilt by Bishop Gower. "*Henricus Gower, Episcopus Menevensis, edificavit castellum in Swanseye in solo patrimonii sui.*" (Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 323.) The open Gothic battlement, or parapet, which crowns the top of the building, denotes the architecture of this bishop.

The parish church of Swansea contains some very ancient and interesting monuments. A richly decorated altar-tomb, said to have been erected to the memory of Sir Matthew Cradocke, Knight, and his lady, whose effigies are represented in a recumbent posture: another effigy of a monk, and a most curious and well-preserved brass to the memory of Sir Hugh Johnys, and Dame Mawde his wife, whose figures, together with those of five sons, and four daughters, are delineated on the brass plate, which bears the following inscription:

"PRAY FOR THE SOWLE OF SIR HUGH JOHNYS, KNIGHT, AND DAME MAWDE HIS WIFE, WHYCH SIR HUGH WAS MADE KNIGHT AT THE HOLY SEPULCRE OF OUR LORD JHU CRIST IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM THE XIII DAY OF AUGUST THE YERE OF OURE LORD GODE MCCCCXLI AND THE SAID SIR HUGH HAD CONTYNUYD IN THE WARIS THER' LONG TYME

BYFORE BY THE SPACE OF FYVE YER^s THAT IS TO SAY AGEYNST THE
 TURKIS AND SARYNS IN THE PTIES OF TROY GRECIE AND TURKY UNDER
 JOHN Y^t TYME EMPROURE OF CONSTANTYNEOPLE AND AFTER THAT WAS
 KNIGHT MARSHALL OF FFRAUNCE UNDER JOHN DUKE OF SOM'SET BY
 THE SPACE OF FFIVE YERE, AND IN LIKEWISE AFTYR THAT WAS KNIGHT
 MARSHALL OF INGLAND UNDER THE GOOD JOHN DUKE OF NORFOLKE,
 WHICH JOHN MADE UNTO HYM THE MANO^s OF LANDYMO' TO HYM AND
 TO HIS HEYR' FOR EV'MORE UPON WHOSE SOULHS JHU HAVE MERCY."

From a hill north of Swansea, there is a very comprehensive
 bird's eye view of the whole town, harbour, shipping, and distant
 coast, which to the right is bounded by Oystermouth castle, and
 extends on the left to Aberavon and Margan, where the varied
 shapes of the mountains form a grand and picturesque outline.

CHAPTER IX.

LOCHOR—WENDRAETH—CYDWELI.

FROM SWEYNSEI, or Abertawe, we proceeded towards the river Lochor, through the plains in which Howel, son of Meredyth of Brecheinoc, after the decease of King Henry the First, gained a signal victory over the English. Having first crossed the river Lochor,¹ and afterwards the water called Wendraeth, we arrived at the castle of Cydweli. In this district, after the death of King Henry, whilst Gruffydh, son of Rhys Prince of South Wales, was engaged in soliciting assistance from North Wales, his wife Gwenllian (like the Queen of the Amazons, and a second Penthiselea) led an army into these parts; but she was defeated by Maurice de Londres, lord of that country, and Geoffrey, constable to the bishop.² Morgan, one of her sons, whom she had arrogantly brought with her in that expedition, was slain, and the other, Malgon, taken prisoner; and she, with many of her followers, was put to death. During the reign of King Henry the First, when Wales enjoyed a state of tranquillity, the abovementioned Maurice had a forest in that neighbourhood well stocked with wild animals, and especially

¹ Lochor river partith Kidwelli from West Gowerlande. Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 23.

² The scene of the battle fought between Gwenllian and Maurice de Londres is to this day called Maes Gwenllian, the plain or field of Gwenllian; and there is a tower in the castle of Cydweli still called Twr Gwenllian.

deer, and was extremely tenacious of his venison. His wife (for women are often very expert in deceiving men) made use of this curious stratagem. Her husband possessed, on the side of the wood next the sea, some extensive pastures, and large flocks of sheep. Having made all the shepherds and chief people in her house accomplices and favourers of her design, and taking advantage of the simple courtesy of her husband, she thus addressed him: " It is wonderful that being lord over beasts, you have ceased to exercise dominion over them; and by not making use of your deer, do not now rule over them, but are subservient to them; and behold how great an abuse arises from too much patience; for they attack our sheep with such an unheard-of rage, and unusual voracity, that, from many they are become few, from being innumerable, only numerous." To make her story more probable, she caused some wool to be inserted between the intestines of two stags which had been embowelled; and her husband, thus artfully deceived, sacrificed his deer to the rapacity of his dogs.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER IX.

Lochor, or Llwchwr—Was the Leucarum mentioned in the Itineraries, and the fifth Roman station on the Via Julia. This small village is situated on a tide-river bearing the same name, which divides the counties of Glamorgan and Caermarthen, and over which there is a ferry. We are informed by the Welsh Chronicle, that in the year 1150 Meredyth and Rhys, sons of Gruffydh ap Rhys, Prince of South Wales, besieged and took the castle of Aberlhychwr, but not being able to keep it, they rased it to the ground, and in the year 1215, it experienced the same fate. One tower of this building is now remaining upon an eminence overlooking the river.

Wendraeth, or Gwen-traeth—From gwen, white, and traeth, the sandy beach of the sea. There are two rivers of this name, Gwendraeth fawr, and Gwendraeth fychan, the great and the little Gwendraeth, of which Leland thus speaks: "Vendraith Vawr and Vendraith Vehan risith both in Eskenning Commote: the lesse an eight milys of from Kydwelli; the other about a ten, and hath but a little nesche of sand betwixt the places wher thei go into the se, about a mile beneth the towne of Kidwely." And in another place he adds, "bothe Vendraith Vawr and Vendraith Vehan ryse in a pece of Caermardynshire caullid Lowe isse Kenen, that is to say, the lowe quartar about Kennen ryver, and betwyxt the heddes of these two, is only an hille, wherein be stones of a greenishe coloure

that the people ther make lyme of; the name of the hill that Vendraith Vawr risethe in is cawlyd Mennith Vawr, and there is a poole as in a moresch ground caullid Llintegowen, wher the principall springe is: this hill is an 8 or 9 miles from Kidwelly: the hill that Vendraith Vehan springeth out of is cauled Mennith Vehan: this cummythe by Gidwelly towne; all the sydes a longe of Vendraith Vawr be full of coles: ther is very goode hawkinge for herons on Vendraith Vehan." (Leland Itin. Tom. VIII. p. 92.)

Cydweli—Probably so called from cyd, a junction, and wyl, a flow, or gushing out, being situated near the junction of the rivers Gwendraeth fawr and fychan: but Leland gives its name a very singular derivation, and worthy of my credulous and superstitious author, Giraldus. Kidwely, otherwise Cathweli, i. e. Catti lectus quia Cattus olim solebat ibi lectum in quercu facere:—There is a little towne now but newly made betwene Vendraith Vawr and Vendraith Vehan. Vendraith Vawr is half a mile of. There is betwixt new Kidwelly and the old but a bridge over little Wendraith: the old town is prettily waullid and hath hard by the waul a castel; the old town is nere al desolated, but the castel is meately wel kept up. It longgid to the Duke of Lancastre. In the new towne is onely a chirch of our Ladi, and by is the celle of Blake monkes of Shirburne; ther the prior is parson of our ladi chirch. The castel is veri fair and doble waullid.^a From Dugdale I learn, that there was formerly here a priory of Benedictine monks, founded by Roger Bishop of Salisbury about the year 1130, and made subordinate to Sherborne in Dorsetshire. Maurice de Londres made a donation of twelve acres of land to the church of Saint Mary de

^a Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 22.

Kidwelly.^b Browne Willis mentions a chantry of Saint Nicholas, to which a pension was paid in 1553. The castle of Cydweli, both in extent of building and picturesque situation, is a prominent feature in our author's itinerary; it is boldly situated on a rocky eminence, above the banks of the Gwendraeth fychan, and probably owed its original foundation to William de Londres, one of the twelve Norman knights who assisted Robert Fitz-Hamon in the conquest of Glamorganshire, and who afterwards won from the Welsh the lordships of Cydweli and Carnewilhion. It was frequently destroyed and rebuilt during the repeated wars and commotions with which this part of South Wales was agitated. In the year 1093, the country of Cydweli was sorely harassed by the Normans of Glamorganshire. In 1190, a castle was built at Cydweli by Prince Rhys. In 1223, Prince Llewelyn sent his son Gruffydh, with a considerable body of men, against William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, and on coming to Cydweli, and receiving intelligence, that the magistrates of that place had a private design to betray him to the enemy, he put the whole town in flames, and burnt it to the ground, without sparing either churches or other religious houses.^c In the year 1259, we find the lordship of Cydweli in the possession of one Patric de Canton, to whom it had been given in case he could win and keep the same; and Leland further informs us, "That it was repayred againe the cumminge of Henry VII. into Wenceland." After various revolutions, it fell to the crown, and was lately the property of Mr. Vaughan of Golden

^b Dugdale Monasticon. Tom. I. p. 425.

^c Then Gruffyth went to Cydweli, and understanding that the burgesses of the town meant to betray him, burned the towne, churches and all to the earthe. Powel, p. 282.



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Grove, and now that of his heir, Lord Cawdor. The church is a large building, containing nothing very ancient, except the sepulchral effigy of a priest, lately dug up, with an inscription round the edge of the tomb-stone, in old characters, but so defaced by the injuries of time, that I could not decipher them. Over the southern entrance into the church is a small figure of the Virgin Mary, to whom the priory was formerly dedicated.

CHAPTER X.

TYWY RIVER—CAERMARDYN—MONASTERY OF ALBELANDE.

HAVING crossed the river Tywy in a boat, we proceeded towards Caermardyn, leaving Lanstephan and Talachar on the sea-coast to our left. After the death of King Henry the Second, Rhys, the son of Gruffydh took these two castles by assault; then having laid waste, by fire and sword, the provinces of Penbroch and Ros, he besieged Caermardyn, but failed in his attempt. Caermardyn signifies the city of Merlin, because, according to the British History, he was there said to have been begotten of an incubus.

This ancient city is situated on the banks of the noble river Tywy, surrounded by woods and pastures, and was strongly inclosed with walls of brick, part of which are still standing; having Cantref Mawr, the great cantred, or hundred, on the eastern side, a safe refuge in times of danger to the inhabitants of South Wales, on account of its thick woods; where is also the castle of Dinevor, built on a lofty summit above the Tywy, the royal seat of the princes of South Wales. In ancient times, there were three 'regal palaces in Wales: Dinevor in South Wales, Aberfrau in North Wales, situated in Anglesea, and Pengwern in Powys, now called Shrewsbury; Pengwern signifies

the head of a grove of alders. Recalling to mind those poetical passages

“ *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?*

And

“ *Et si non rectè possis, quocunque modo rem,*”

my pen shrinks with abhorrence from the relation of the enormous vengeance exercised by the court against its vassals, within the comot of Caeo, in the Cantref Mawr. Near Dinevor, on the other side of the river Tywy, in the Cantref Bychan, or the little cantred, there is a spring, which, like the tide, ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours.¹ Not far to the north of Caermardyn, namely at Pencadair, that is, the head of the chair, when Rhys, the son of Gruffydh, was more by stratagem than force compelled to surrender, and was carried away into England, King Henry the Second dispatched a soldier, born in Bretagne, on whose wisdom and fidelity he could rely, under the conduct of Guaidanus, Dean of Cantref Mawr, to explore the situation of Dinevor castle, and the strength of the country. The priest being desired to take the soldier by the easiest and best road to the castle, led him purposely aside by the most difficult and inaccessible paths, and wherever they passed through woods, the priest, to the general surprise of all present, fed upon grass, asserting, that in times of need the inhabitants of that country were accustomed to live upon herbs and roots. The soldier returning to the king, and relating

¹ There is a spring very near the north side of Dinevor park wall, which bears the name of Nant-y-rhibo, or the bewitched brook, which may perhaps be the one here alluded to by Giraldus

what had happened, affirmed that the country was uninhabitable, vile, and inaccessible, and only affording food to a beastly nation, living like brutes. At length the king released Rhys, having first bound him to fealty by solemn oaths, and delivery of hostages.

On our journey from Caermardyn to the Cistercian monastery of Alba Domus, the Archbishop was informed of the murder of a young Welshman, who was devoutly hastening to meet him; when turning out of the road, he ordered the corpse to be covered with the cloak of his almoner, and with a pious supplication commended the soul of the murdered youth to heaven. Twelve archers of the adjacent castle of Saint Clare, who had assassinated the young man, were on the following day signed with the cross at Alba Domus, as a punishment for their crime. Having traversed three rivers, the Taf, then the Cledheu, under Lanwadein, and afterwards another branch of the same river, we at length arrived at Haverford; this province, from its situation between two rivers, has acquired the name of Daugledheu, being inclosed and terminated, as it were, by two swords, for cledheu, in the British language, signifies a sword.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER X.

OUR crusaders here deviated from the modern post road between Cydweli and Caermarthen, by crossing the river Tywy, and leaving the castle of Lanstephan on their left.^a This fortress is boldly situated on a well-wooded promontory, guarding the western entrance of the river, and its ruins are still very considerable. In the year 1145, it was taken by Cadelh, the son of Gruffydh ap Rhys, though the Normans and Flemings came to its relief; in the year 1189, it yielded to the forces of Prince Rhys. In 1215, it was besieged and rased to the ground by Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, Prince of North Wales, and in the year 1257, it was again destroyed by Llewelyn ap Gruffydh.

The castle of Talachar is now better known by the name of Langharne; it protected the western entrance of the river Tawe, which is fordable at low water, and is distant from Lanstephan about three or four miles. The situation of these two castles is widely different. Lanstephan proudly seated on a high rock, commands on one side an enchanting view towards Caermarthen, and towards Tenby on the other. Langharne is placed in so low a situation, that its walls are washed by the tide. In the year 1215, it experienced the same fate as the castle of Lanstephan. Leland says,

^a In later times Leland says Llanstupan castel and lordship, by the new acte, is removid from Cairmardinshire and adject to Penbrookeshire, bycawse it longid in tymes past to the Erle of Penbrooke. Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 26.

“ it longid sum time to the Erle of Northumbreland.” This line of coast in Caermarthenshire and Glamorganshire is singularly intersected by tide-rivers, the Tave at Langharne, the Tywy at Lanstephan, the two Gwendraeths at Cydweli, the Lochor and Tawy at Swansea, and the Nedd at Neth.

Caermardyn.—Much has been said and written by ancient authors respecting the derivation of the name of this city, which is generally allowed to be the Muridunum, or Maridunum, mentioned in the Roman itineraries. Some derive it from *Caer* and *Merdhyn*, that is, the city of the prophet *Merdhyn*; and others from *Mûr* and *Murdhyn*, which in the British language signify, a wall. Neither by minute inquiry, nor personal investigation, have I been able to find any of the Roman bricks, of which our author says this city was wonderfully built, though the old walls, from the red hue of their materials, bear the colour, but not the substance here alluded to. When we recollect the many and repeated reverses of fortune which Caermardyn experienced, we cannot be disappointed in finding so few vestiges of its ancient castle; from the Welsh Chronicle we are able to collect the following memorials: the town was taken and the castle defaced by *Gruffydh ap Rhys* in 1113.—In 1136, the town was laid in ashes by *Owen Gwynedh* Prince of North Wales. We are informed, that in 1144, a castle was built here by *Gilbert Earl of Clare*, and in the following year besieged, and surrendered to *Cadelh*, son of *Gruffydh ap Rhys*, by whom it was refortified in 1149. In the year 1158, it was attacked by Prince *Rhys*, who, on the appearance of the Earls of Bristol and Clare, with their forces, was compelled to retreat. In 1196, the town and castle were taken by Prince *Rhys*, and destroyed; and in 1215, after a siege of five

days, it fell into the hands of Prince Llewelyn, who rased it to the ground. In 1223, it withstood successfully a siege of three months.

The only monastic establishment in this town seems to have been a priory of six black canons of the order of Saint Augustin, standing in old Caermardyn by the river side. Tanner dates its foundation before the year 1148; the name of its founder is unknown; it was dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, and Griffin Williams was the last prior at its dissolution. Besides the above priory, there was a church dedicated to Saint Peter, and a chapel within the castle, which King Henry the Second granted to the canons of the old town, and at the same time confirmed the former donations made to them by Blederic Lacimer, Bernard Bishop of Saint David's, and Alfred Drine. The only parish church now existing in Caermarthen, and dedicated to Saint Peter, has little to recommend it in point of antiquity; but it contains the interesting monument of Sir Thomas ap Rhys, a character celebrated in our history, who assisted King Henry the Seventh, on his landing at Milford Haven, united his forces with those of Henry, and fought with him in Bosworth field. His effigy is represented recumbent on an altar tomb, clothed with armour, booted and spurred, hands uplifted, long flowing hair, a dagger, or short sword, on his right side, a lion at his feet, and a helmet at his head. A female figure reposes on his left side, but her head (as is often the case) does not lie parallel with his: at her feet, which are broken off, was formerly a pigeon. The base of this tomb, as well as the effigy of Sir Thomas ap Rhys, are of large proportions: the whole is of stone, was painted and gilt, and richly decorated with small figures, escutcheons of arms, &c. We have to lament the loss of three other fine sepulchral effigies of alabaster,

connected (as I was informed) with the same illustrious family, which were absolutely beaten to pieces by the masons who repaired the church about twelve years ago, and converted into plaister for the mouldings of the cornice. In this church are deposited the remains of the well known English author Sir Richard Steele, but not even a tablet is erected to perpetuate his memory.

Caermarthen is beautifully situated on the banks of the navigable river Tywy. The county gaol occupies the site of the old castle, a few fragments of which are seen intermixed with the houses of the town.

Dinevor—The great castle, from *dinas*, a castle, and *vawr*, great, was in ancient times a royal residence of the princes of South Wales. In the year 876, Roderic the Great, having divided the principalities of North and South Wales, and Powys land, amongst his three sons, built for each of them a palace. The sovereignty of South Wales, with the castle of Dinevor, fell to the lot of Cadelh: this principality, with its fifteen cantreds, extended from the mouth of the river Dovy in Cardiganshire, to the mouth of the Severn. In the year 1144, we find it in the possession of Gilbert Earl of Clare, besieged and surrendered to Cadelh, son of Gruffydh ap Rhys, Prince of South Wales: in 1191, it was delivered up on the first assault to Rhys, Prince of South Wales, who in 1194, was taken prisoner by his own sons: the castle was seized by his son Maelgon, from whom, on his father's release, it was again taken and destroyed; it was soon afterwards retaken by Rhys and Meredyth, sons of Prince Rhys, and appears to have been given up to the Normans. In 1204, it was taken from the spiteful and turbulent usurper Maelgon, by his brother Gruffydh's sons: and in 1213,

Rhys, the rightful heir of Prince Rhys, assisted by Foulke Viscount of Caerdyf, and the Steward of Hereford, marched with three armies to attack Dinevor. "Then Rees Vachan came boldlie and gave them battell, where in the end he was put to flight, with the losse of a great number of his men. Then he went straight, and manned the castell of Dinevowr, and burned the towne of Llandeilo-vawr, keeping himselfe in the wild and rough p^races : then his enimies laid siege to the castell of Dinevowr, and at the first assault, they wanne the first ward, so that they of the garrison were faine to take the koxe for their defense, and defended the same manfullie ; but they without made engines to cast in great stones, and began to undermine the walles in such sort, that the captaine fell to that composition, that if he were not succoured by the next daie at noone, he would deliver up the castell, upon condition that all his men might depart with their armour and weapons, and so they did, for they had no succours." Powel, p. 269.

In 1257, it was besieged by the English, and held out until Prince Llewelyn's army came to its relief ; a terrible engagement ensued, said, by the Welsh annalist, to have been, for number of men, the greatest battle that had ever been fought between the English and the Welsh : victory favoured the natives, the English being at length obliged to fly, having lost above two thousand men, besides several barons and knights who were taken prisoners.

The ruins of this ancient castle still crown the summit of a high hill, majestically clothed with wood, and form a principal feature in the beautiful grounds at Newton. To view this fine object in the most favourable point of view, it is advisable to go into the meadows on the other side of the Tywy, where the hill, castle, and river, form

a most enchanting landscape. From this spot, the poet Dyer drew the following elegant and appropriate description :

Gaudy as the opening dawn,
 Lies a long and level lawn,
 On which a dark hill, steep and high,
 Holds, and charms the wandering eye
 Deep are his feet in Towy's flood,
 His sides are cloth'd with waving wood,
 And ancient towers crown his brow,
 That cast an awful look below ;
 Whose ragged walls the ivy creeps,
 And with her arms from falling keeps :
 So both a safety from the wind,
 On mutual dependance find.
 'Tis now the raven's dark abode ;
 'Tis now th' apartment of the toad :
 And there the fox securely feeds,
 And there the pois'nous adder breeds,
 Conceal'd in ruins, moss, and weeds.
 While ever and anon there falls,
 Huge heaps of hoary mould'ring walls.
 Yet time has seen that lifts the low,
 And level lays the lofty brow :
 Has seen this broken pile complete,
 Big with the vanity of state,
 But transient is the smile of fate !"

Pencadair—It is here necessary to correct a topographical error made by the annotator, Dr. Powel, respecting this place. He says, A. D. 1163, "Then the king gathered a great power against South Wales, and came himselfe as farre as Pencadayr beside Brecknock, where Rees came to him and did him homage, and gave him pledges, and then the king went to Ireland againe." Powel, p. 20. But the real place of their meeting was at the Pencadair here alluded to, a small village situated to the north of Caermarthen, and at a short distance on the left of the road leading from that place to Lanpeder in Caerdiganshire. On referring to the original text in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, I find it mentions Pencadair in South Wales only, not near Brecknock.

Alba Domus,—called in Welsh, Ty Gwyn ar Dav, or the White House on the river Tav. In the *History of the Primitive British Church*, Ty Gwyn, or white house, is used in a sense equivalent to a chapter-house. The White House College, or Bangor y Ty Gwyn, was founded about the year 480, by Paul Hên, or Paulinus, a saint of the congregation of Illtyd, who lived in the latter part of the fifth century. He placed Gredivel and Flewyn, sons of Ithel Hael, at the head of this society.

From this origin, the celebrated Cistercian monastery derived its establishment. Powel, in his *Chronicle*, says, "For the first abbey or frier house that we read of in Wales, sith the destruction of the noble house of Bangor, which savored not of Romish dregges, was the Tuy Gwyn, built the yeare 1146, and after they swarmed like bees through all the countrie." Powel, p. 254. But we must not confound this abbey with the white house at which Howel Dha, in

the year 940, convened the barons, clergy, and legislators of Wales, in order to reform the abuses of their ancient laws, and establish a new code; for that house was situated in its neighbourhood, and nearer the great turnpike road.

Authors differ with respect to the founder of this abbey: some have attributed it to Rhys ap Theodor, Prince of South Wales; and others to Bernard Bishop of Saint David's, who died about the year 1148. I am inclined to think it owed its foundation to the latter personage, as the date of his episcopacy concurs with Powel's account, and is corroborated by the following passage in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*: "Anno 1143 ducti sunt monachi ordinis Cisterciensis qui modò sunt apud Albam Landam, in West Walliam, per Bernardum episcopum." Leland, in his *Collectanea*, says, "Whitland Abbat. Cistert. Rhesus filius Theodori Princeps Suth-Walliæ primus fundator;" and in his *Itinerary*, mentions it as a convent of Bernardines, "whych yet stondeth." From Dugdale we can gain but little information respecting this once celebrated house, as he only records the grant of King John confirming the several donations made to it. In the year 1146, Merfyn was abbot of Ty Gwyn, and the government of the castle of Cynfael was committed to him by Cadwalader, brother of Owen Gwynedh.

About the year 1171, King Henry was entertained by Prince Rhys at the white house, when on his journey to Ireland; upon which occasion the king restored to him his son Howel, who had been detained for a considerable time as a hostage. Powel, p. 231.

The ruins of this abbey are situated about five miles from Saint Clare's, on the right hand of the road leading from thence to

Narbeth: a few fragments of rude walls, and the traces of some foundations, point out its ancient site: it stood in a sequestered valley, sheltered from the north and east winds by a magnificent range of hanging wood, extending along the declivities of the hill for more than a mile; it was called the White House on the Taf, though that river runs to the westward of this vale. The only fragment of antiquity worth notice, is a stone fixed into the walls of a house, on which are sculptured three escutcheons of arms.

This valley, once the peaceful abode of the meek and recluse Cistercian, where

“ Remote from man, with God he passed his days,
Prayer all his pleasure, all his profit praise,”

now re-echoes with the hammering sounds of two iron forges. Oh, Alba Domus! how changed in colour, how changed in thy inhabitants!

Saint Clare—Is a long straggling village, situated at the junction of the river Kathgenny with the Tave: immediately on the banks of the former, and not far from its junction with the latter, stood the castle, of which not one stone is left; but the artificial tumulus on which the citadel was placed, and other broken ground, mark its ancient site. Little mention is made of this castle in the Welsh Chronicle. Prince Rhys, immediately after the death of King Henry the Second, took possession of it. We are informed by Tanner, that there was formerly an alien priory at Saint Clare, consisting of a prior and two Cluniac monks, a cell to Saint Martin de Campis in Paris: it was founded before the year 1291, and given by King

Henry the Sixth, in the twentieth year of his reign, to All Souls College, Oxford. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, we find a precept of King Henry the Fifth, ordering the temporalia of the Cluniac priory of Saint Clare to be restored to John Weston, appointed prior thereof. Rymer, Tom. IX. p. 383.

Lanwadein—now called Lawhaden, is a small village distant about four miles from Narbeth, and situated on the banks of the river Cledheu. On the summit of a high hill covered with wood, there are considerable remains of a castle, belonging to the see of Saint David's. In those days of turbulence and oppression, when the principalities of North and South Wales were continually ravaged and harassed by the hostile incursions of the Welsh, Normans, and Flemings, and when even the most hallowed sanctuaries and churches were unrespected by the invaders, the bishops in Wales thought it necessary to fortify their palaces against the attacks of the enemy. I have already had occasion to mention one castellated mansion at Landeu near Brecknock, belonging to this see; there is a second at Lawhaden, and a third at Lantphey near Pembroke. In the year 1192, this castle is thus mentioned by Powel: "Then Howel, because he had more castels than he could well defend, determined to rase the castell of Lhanhayaden: but the Flemings having understanding thereof, gathered all their strength, and came thither the daie appointed to rase the castell, and set fierslie upon the men of Howel and Maelgon and slewe manie of them, putting the rest to flight. Neverthelesse, they gathered a great power shortlie after, and came thither againe and rased the castell to the ground, without anie let or staie." From Leland I learn, that Edward Vaughan Bishop of Saint David's in



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1521, repaired the castle of Lawhaden, and built a new chapel.^b The same author in his Itinerary, says, “Lanwadein lordship on the est side of Gledi (Cledheu), wher is a castel buildid on a rokke longging to the Bishop of Saint David.” Tanner mentions a priory at Lawhaden or chapel of the Virgin Mary, united to the church of Saint David’s in 1501, by John Morgan, bishop of that see.

Daugledheu—So called from Dau, two, and Cled, or Cleddau, a sword. The rivers Cledheu have their source in the Prescelly mountain, unite their streams below Haverfordwest, and run into Milford Haven, which in Welsh is called Aberdaugleddau, or the confluence of the two rivers Cledheu. Leland thus mentions this river: “Dueglevi lordship is conteynid betwyxt the 2 rivers of Glevi. In this lordship or groundes be few or none notable buildinges: ther is a little rille betwixt the 2 Gleves caullid Kollell, i. e. Cultellus.” And again, alluding to the latter rivulet, he says, “betwyxt the 2 Gleves by Harfordwest is a litle ryveret caullid in Walsch ———, in Englisch, Knife. One being requirid wher he lay al night, answerid “that he lay, having a sword on eche side of hym, and a knife at his hart, alluding to the 3 ryvers in the midle of whom he lay al night.”^c The annotator, Doctor Powel, in his notes on this chapter, confounds Hulphord, or Haverford, with Aberdaugledheu, or Milford Haven: the Vindogladia, supposed by some to have been in this neighbourhood, is, according to Antonine, an intermediate station between Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum), and Durnovaria (Dorchester).

^b Hic reparavit castellum de Lanhauden, et novam capellam ibi ædificavit. Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 324.

^c Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 27—28.

CHAPTER XI.

HAVERFORD AND ROS.

A SERMON having been delivered at Haverford by the Archbishop, and the word of God preached to the people by the Archdeacon,^{*} whose name appears in the title-page of this work, many soldiers and plebeians were induced to take the cross. It appeared wonderful and miraculous, that although the Archdeacon addressed them both in the Latin and French tongues, those persons who understood neither of those languages were equally affected, and flocked in great numbers to the cross.

An old woman of those parts, who for three preceding years had been blind, having heard of the Archbishop's arrival, sent her son to the place where the sermon was to be preached, that he might bring back to her some particle even of the fringe of his garment: the young man being prevented by the crowd from approaching the Archbishop, waited till the assembly was dispersed, and then carried a piece of the earth on which the preacher had stood; the mother received the gift with great joy, and falling immediately on her knees, applied the turf to her mouth and eyes, and thus, through the merits of the holy man, and her own faith and

^{*} By the title of Archidiaconus Menevensis, which Giraldus here applies to himself, the reader might suppose him to have been Archdeacon of Saint David's, whereas he was only Archdeacon of Brecon in that diocese.

devotion, recovered the blessing of sight, which she had entirely lost.

The inhabitants of this province derived their origin from Flanders, and were sent by King Henry the First to inhabit these districts: a people brave and robust, ever hostile to the Welsh; a people, I say, well versed in commerce and woollen manufactories; a people anxious to seek gain by sea or land, in defiance of fatigue and danger; a hardy race, equally fitted for the plough or the sword; a people brave and happy, if Wales (as it ought to have been) had been dear to its sovereign, and had not so frequently experienced the vindictive resentment and ill treatment of its governors.

A circumstance happened in the castle of Haverford during our time, which ought not to be omitted. A famous robber was fettered and confined in one of its towers, and was often visited by three boys, the son of the Earl of Clare, and two others, one of whom was son of the lord of the castle, and the other his grandson, sent thither for their education, and who applied to him for arrows, with which he used to supply them. One day, at the request of the children, the robber being brought from his dungeon, took advantage of the absence of the gaoler, closed the door, and shut himself up with the boys. A great clamour instantly arose, as well from the boys within, as from the people without; nor did he cease, with an uplifted axe, to threaten the lives of the children, until indemnity and security were assured to him in the most ample manner. A similar accident happened at Chateau-roux in France. The lord of that place maintained in the castle, a man whose eyes he had formerly put out, but who, by long habit, recollected the

ways of the castle, and the steps leading to the towers: seizing an opportunity of revenge, and meditating the destruction of the youth, he fastened the inward doors of the castle, and took the only son and heir of the governor of the castle to the summit of a high tower, from whence he was seen with the utmost concern by the people beneath. The father of the boy hastened thither, and, struck with terror, attempted by every possible means to procure the ransom of his son, but received for answer, that this could not be effected, but by the same mutilation of those lower parts which he had likewise inflicted on him: the father, having in vain intreated mercy, at length assented, and caused a violent blow to be struck on his body; and the people around him cried out lamentably, as if he had suffered mutilation. The blind man asked him where he felt the greatest pain; when he replied in his reins, he declared it was false, and prepared to precipitate the boy: a second blow was given, and the lord of the castle asserting that the greatest pains were at his heart, the blind man expressing his disbelief, again carried the boy to the summit of the tower. The third time, however, the father, to save his son, really mutilated himself, and when he exclaimed, that the greatest pain was in his teeth; "it is true," said he, "as a man who has had experience should be believed, and thou hast in part revenged my injuries; I shall meet death with more satisfaction, and thou shalt neither beget any other son, nor receive comfort from this;" then precipitating himself and the boy from the summit of the tower, their limbs were broken, and both instantly expired. The soldier ordered a monastery to be built on the spot for the soul of the boy, which is still extant, and called *De Doloribus*.

It appears remarkable to me that the entire inheritance should

devolve on Richard, son of Tankard,^b governor of the aforesaid castle of Haverford, being the youngest son, and having many brothers of distinguished character who died before him. In like manner the dominion of South Wales descended to Rhys, son of Gruffydh, owing to the death of several of his brothers. During the childhood of Richard, a holy man named Caradoc led a pious and recluse life at Saint Ismael, in the province of Ros, to whom the boy was often sent by his parents with provisions, and so ingratiated himself in the eyes of the good man, that he very often promised him, together with his blessing, the portion of all his brothers, and the paternal inheritance. It happened that Richard, being overtaken by a violent storm of rain, turned aside to the hermit's cell, and being unable to get his hounds near him, either by calling, coaxing, or by offering them food, the holy man smiled; and making a gentle motion with his hand, brought them all to him immediately. In process of time, when Caradoc had happily completed the course of his existence, Tankard, father of Richard, violently detained his body, which by his last will he had bequeathed to the church of Saint David; but being suddenly seized with a severe illness, he revoked his command: but when this had happened to him a second and a third time, and the corpse at last was suffered to be conveyed away, and was proceeding over the sands of Niwegal towards Saint David's, a prodigious fall of rain inundated the whole country, but the conductors of the sacred burthen, on coming forth from their shelter, found the silken pall, with which the bier was covered, dry and uninjured by the storm; and thus the miraculous body of

^b In the life of Caradoc we find this same person mentioned (and whom I imagine to have been of Flemish extraction) as having been very troublesome to the saint; and he is reported to have lost his life by falling down a precipice into the sea, whilst eager in the pursuit of a stag.

Caradoc was brought into the church of Saint Andrew and Saint David, and with due solemnity, deposited in the left aisle, near the altar of the holy proto-martyr Stephen.

It is worthy of remark, that these people (the Flemings) from the inspection of the right shoulders of rams which have been stripped of their flesh, and not roasted but boiled, can discover future events, or those which have passed and remained long unknown; they know also what is transpiring at a distant place, by a wonderful art, and a prophetic kind of spirit: they declare also by means of signs, the undoubted symptoms of approaching peace and war, murders and fires, domestic adulteries, the state of the king, his life and death. It happened in our time, that a man of those parts, whose name was William Mangunel, a person of high rank, and excelling all others in the aforesaid art, had a wife big with child by her own husband's grandson: well aware of the fact, he ordered a ram from his own flock to be sent to his wife, as a present from her neighbour; which was carried to the cook and dressed: at dinner the husband purposely gave the shoulder-bone of the ram, properly cleaned, to his wife, who was also well skilled in this art, for her examination; when, having for a short time examined the secret marks, she smiled and threw the oracle down on the table. Her husband dissembling, earnestly demanded the cause of her smiling, and the explanation of the matter; overcome by his intreaties, she answered, "The man to whose fold this ram belongs, has an adulterous wife, at this time pregnant by the commission of incest with his own grandson." The husband, with a sorrowful and dejected countenance, replied, "You deliver indeed an oracle supported by too much truth, which I have so much more reason to lament, as the ignominy you have published

redounds to my own injury." The woman thus detected, and unable to dissemble her confusion, betrayed the inward feelings of her mind by external signs; shame and sorrow urging her by turns, and manifesting themselves, now by blushes, now by paleness, and lastly (according to the custom of women) by tears. The shoulder of a goat was also once brought to a certain person instead of a ram's, both being alike when cleaned, who, observing for a short time the lines and marks, exclaimed, " Unhappy cattle that never was multiplied! unhappy likewise the owner of the cattle, who never had more than three or four in one flock!" Many persons, a year and a half before the event, foresaw, by the means of shoulder-bones, the destruction of their country, after the decease of King Henry the First, and selling all their possessions, left their homes, and escaped the impending ruin.

It happened also in Flanders, from whence this people came, that a certain man sent a similar bone to a neighbour for his inspection: the person who carried it, on passing over a ditch, broke wind, and wished it in the nostrils of the man, on whose account he was thus troubled. The person to whom the bone was taken, on examination, said, " May you have in your own nose, that which you wished to be in mine." In our time, a sooth-sayer, on the inspection of a bone, discovered not only a theft, and the manner of it, but the thief himself, and all the attendant circumstances; he heard also the striking of a bell, and the sound of a trumpet, as if those things which were past were still performing. It is wonderful, therefore, that these bones, like all unlawful conjurations, should represent, by a counterfeit similitude to the eyes and ears, things which are passed, as well as those which are now going on.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER XI.

HAVERFORD, now called Haverfordwest—is a considerable town on the river Cledheu, with an ancient castle, three churches, and some monastic remains. “Haverfordwest lordship, which is in Roselande, hath the waullid town of Haverford and castel: the water of Mylford Haven devidith the lordship from Penbrooke. In Haverford town thre paroch chirches, one of them without the towne in sub-urbe: Black freres within the towne: Chanons without suppressid.”^a Tanner tells us, that at this place there were two religious houses; one a priory of Black canons, of the order of Saint Augustin, situated without the town, dedicated to Saint Mary, and Thomas the Martyr, before the year 1200, and liberally endowed (if not founded) by Robert de Haverford, lord of this place. There was another house of Black Fryers within the town. Dugdale recites a charter of King Edward the Third, confirming the grants made by Robert, son of Richard, son of Tancardus de Haverford, to this monastery; also the grant of his chapel in the castle, on condition “that one or more of the canons should perform divine service therein, and that the person so officiating should eat at the table of the said Richard, and enjoy many other privileges.”

The old castle (now used as the county gaol), from its size and commanding situation, adds greatly to the picturesque appearance of this town. I find no notice taken of it in the Welsh Chronicle.

^a Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 26.



W. Miller del.

W. Miller sculp.

HAVRE-FRANCIS.

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Camden mentions a tradition, that the Earls of Clare fortified this castle on the north side with walls and a rampire; and we have it recorded, that Richard Earl of Clare made Richard Fitz-Tancred governor of it. In 1220, the town of Haverford was burned to the castle gates by Prince Llewelyn in revenge for the treacherous conduct of the Flemings; and in later times I find that the castle, town, borough, and manor of Haverfordwest were granted in tail to William Earl of Pembroke temp. Edwardi IV. There are three parish churches at Haverford, Saint Mary, Saint Martin, and Saint Thomas. The Gothic architecture of Saint Mary's (the principal and most central church) is light and elegant; it has only one aisle, in which, as well as in the nave, there is handsome carved roof. The arches are supported by clustered columns, the capitals of which vary, and some of them represent human heads. A large Gothic arch divides the nave from the choir: there are the remains of some old stalls, and a George and dragon carved in wood. The church contains some sepulchral memorials to the Milford family, and an old effigy rudely sculptured in stone, which once stood near the altar, but is now removed into a side aisle.

Saint Martin's church stands on a hill near the castle, and has no particular marks of antiquity, except three old stalls, and a niche for the holy water on the south side of the altar.

The third church, Saint Thomas, is placed on an eminence above the priory, and contains nothing worthy of record. The *Annales Menevenses* date the foundation of this church in 1225. "A. D. 1225, incœptum fuit novum opus majoris ecclesiæ S. Thomæ Haverfordiæ."

Ros—The province of Ros, in which the town of Haverfordwest

is situated, was peopled by a colony of Flemings during the reign of King Henry the First, of which the historian Hollinshed gives the following memorial: " A. D. 1107, about this season a great part of Flanders being drowned by an enundation or breaking in of the sea, a great number of Flemings came into England, beseeching the king to have some void place assigned them, wherein they might inhabit. At the first, they were appointed to the countrie lieng on the east part of the river of Tweed, but within foure yeres after, they were removed into a corner by the sea-side in Wales, called Penbrokeshire, to the end they might be a defense there to the English against the unquiet Welshmen. It should appeare, by some writers, that this multitude of Flemings consisted not of such onelie as came over about that time by reason their countrie was overflowne with the sea (as ye have heard), but of other also that arrived here long before, even in the daies of William the Conquerour, through the freendship of the queene their countrie-woman, sithens which time their number so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them; whereupon King Henrie devised to place them in Penbrokeshire, as well as to avoid them out of the other parts of England, as also by their helpe to tame the bold and presumptuous fiercenesse of the Welshmen,^b which thing in those parties they brought verie well to passe; for after they

^b " Wallenses Rex Henricus semper in rebellionem surgentes crebris expeditionibus in deditionem premebat, consilioque salubri nixus, ut eorum tumorem extenuaret, Flandrenses omnes Angliæ incolas eò traduxit. Plures enim, qui tempore patris pro matris paternâ cognatione confluxerant, occultabat Angliâ, adeò et ipsi regno pro multitudine onerosi viderentur. Quapropter omnes cum substantiis et necessitudinibus apud Ros provinciam Walliarum velut in sentinam conguessit, ut et regnum defæcaret, et hostium brutam temeritatem retunderet. Will. Malmesbury, p. 158.

were settled there, they valiantlie resisted their enimies, and made verie sharpe warres upon them, some times with gaine, and some times with losse.”^c The same event is thus recorded in the Welsh Chronicle: “ The yeare 1108, the rage of the sea did overflow and drowne a great part of the lowe countrie of Flanders, in such sort that the inhabitants were driven to seeke themselves other dwelling places, who came to King Henrie and desired him to give them some void place to remaine in, who being verie liberall of that which was not his owne, gave them the land of Ros, in Dyvet or West Wales, where Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverford are now built, and there they remaine to this daie, as may well be perceived by their speech and conditions, farre differing from the rest of the countrie.” Powel, p. 163.

Saint Caradoc—Was born of a good family in Brecknockshire, and after a liberal education at home, attached himself to the court of Rhys, Prince of South Wales, whom he served a long time with diligence and fidelity. He was much esteemed and beloved by him, till having unfortunately lost two favourite greyhounds, which had been committed to his care, that prince, in a fury, threatened his life, upon which Caradoc determined to change masters, and made a vow on the spot to consecrate the remainder of his days to God, by a single and religious life. He then went to Landaf, and received from the bishop of that see, the clerical tonsure and habit: after spending some time there, he retired to the deserted church of Saint Kined, and afterwards to a still more solitary abode in the Isle of Ary, from whence he was taken prisoner by some Norwegian pirates, but soon released: his last place of residence was at Saint

^c Hollinshed, Tom. II. p. 34.

Ismael in the province of Ros, where he died A. D. 1124,^d and was buried with great honour in the cathedral church of Saint David's. We must not confound this retreat of Caradoc with the village of Saint Ismael on the borders of Milford Haven : his hermitage was situated in the parish of Haroldstone, near the town of Haverfordwest, whose church has Saint Ismael for its patron, and probably near a place called Poorfield, the common on which Haverfordwest races are held, as there is a well there called Caradoc's Well, round which, till within these few years, there was a sort of vanity fair, where cakes were sold, and country games celebrated. There are likewise in the parish of Roch near Newgal Sands, the remains of a chapel dedicated to Caradoc, erected, perhaps, to commemorate the spot where his corpse rested on its journey to Saint David's.

^d Caradocus ortus in provinciâ de Brekenauc.

Caradocus vixit in Ari insulâ, quam Norvegenses abducto eo spoliabant, sed postea insulæ restituerunt.

Richardus, Tancredus, et Flandrenses missi in Walliam infesti Caradoco heremitæ. Obiit anno Dom. 1124, Caradocus, et in Menevensi ecclesiâ sepultus est. Leland Itin. Tom. VIII. p. 72.

CHAPTER XII.

PENBROCH.

THE province of Penbroch adjoins the southern part of the territory of Ros, and is separated from it by an arm of the sea : its principal city and the metropolis of Demetia is situated on an oblong rocky eminence, extending with two branches from Milford Haven, from whence it derived the name of Penbroch, which signifies the head of the æstuary. Arnulph de Montgomery, in the reign of King Henry the First, erected here a slender fortress with stakes and turf, which on returning to England, he consigned to the care of Giraldus de Windesor, his constable and lieutenant-general, a worthy and discreet man. Immediately on the death of Rhys, son of Theodor, who a short time before had been slain by the treachery of his own troops at Brecheinoc, leaving his son Gruffydh a child, the inhabitants of South Wales besieged the castle : one night, when fifteen soldiers had deserted, and endeavoured to escape from the castle in a small boat, on the following morning Giraldus invested their armour bearers with the arms and estates of their masters, and decorated them with the military order. The garrison being, from the length of the siege, reduced to the utmost want of provisions, the constable, with great prudence and flattering hopes of success, caused four hogs, which yet remained, to be cut into small pieces and thrown down to the enemy from the fortifications. The next

day having again recourse to a more refined stratagem, he contrived that a letter, sealed with his own signet, should be found before the house of Wilfred¹ Bishop of Saint David's, who was then by chance in that neighbourhood, as if accidentally dropped, stating that there would be no necessity of soliciting the assistance of Earl Arnulph for the next four months to come. The contents of these letters being made known to the army, the troops abandoned the siege of the castle, and retired to their own homes. Giraldus, in order to make himself and his dependants more secure, married Nest, the sister of Gruffydh Prince of South Wales, by whom he had an illustrious progeny of both sexes; and by whose means both the maritime parts of South Wales were retained by the English, and the walls of Ireland afterwards stormed, as our Prophetic History declares.

In our time, a person residing in the castle of Penbroch found a brood of young weasels concealed within a fleece in his dwelling house, which he carefully removed and hid: the mother irritated at the loss of her young, which she had searched for in vain, went to a vessel of milk that had been set aside for the use of the master's son, and raising herself up, polluted it with her deadly poison; thus revenging, as it were, the loss of her young, by the destruction of the child. The man observing what passed, carried the fleece back to its former place; when the weasel agitated by maternal solicitude, between hope and fear, on finding again her young, began to testify her joy by her cries and actions, and returning quickly to the vessel overthrew it; thus, in gratitude for the recovery of her

¹ Wilfred is mentioned by Browne Willis in his list of Bishops of Saint David's, as the forty-seventh, under the title of Wilfride, or Griffin, he died about the year 1116.

own offspring saving that of her host from danger. In another place an animal of the same species had brought out her young into a plain for the enjoyment of the sun and air; when an insidious kite carried off one of them: concealing herself with the remainder behind some shrubs, grief suggested to her a stratagem of exquisite revenge; she extended herself on a heap of earth, as if dead, within sight of the plunderer, and (as success always increases avidity) the bird immediately seized her and flew away, but soon fell down dead by the bite of the poisonous animal.

The castle called Maenor Pyrr, that is, the mansion of Pyrrus, who also possessed the island of Caldey, which the Welsh call Inys Pyrr, or the island of Pyrrus, is distant about three miles from Penbroch. It is excellently well defended by turrets and bulwarks, and is situated on the summit of a hill extending on the western side towards the sea-port, having on the northern and southern sides a fine fish-pond under its walls, as conspicuous for its grand appearance, as for the depth of its waters, and a beautiful orchard on the same side, inclosed on one part by a vineyard, and on the other by a wood, remarkable for the projection of its rocks, and the height of its hazel trees. On the right hand of the promontory, between the castle and the church, near the site of a very large lake and mill, a rivulet of never-failing water flows through a valley, rendered sandy by the violence of the winds. Towards the west, the Severn sea, bending its course to Ireland, enters a hollow bay at some distance from the castle; and the southern rocks, if extended a little further towards the north, would render it a most excellent harbour for shipping. From this point of sight, you will see almost all the ships from Great Britain, which the east wind drives upon

the Irish coast, daringly brave the inconstant waves and raging sea. This country is well supplied with corn, sea-fish, and imported wines; and what is preferable to every other advantage, from its vicinity to Ireland, is tempered by a salubrious air. Demetia, therefore, with its seven cantreds, is the most beautiful as well as the most powerful district of Wales; Penbroch, the finest province of Demetia; and the place I have just described, the most delightful part of Penbroch. It is evident, therefore, that Maenor Pirr is the pleasantest spot in Wales; and the author may be pardoned for having thus extolled his native soil, his genial territory, with a profusion of praise and admiration.

In this part of Penbroch, unclean spirits have conversed, not visibly but sensibly, with mankind; first in the house of Stephen Wiriet,¹ and afterwards in that of William Not;² manifesting their presence, by throwing dirt at them, and more with a view of mockery than of injury. In the house of William, they cut holes in the linen and woollen garments, much to the loss of the owner of the house and his guests; nor could any precaution, or even bolts, secure them from these inconveniencies. In the house of Stephen, the spirit in a more miraculous manner conversed with men, and in reply to their taunts, upbraided them openly with every thing they had done from their birth, and which they were not willing

¹ The house of Stephen Wiriet was, I presume, Orielson, now the residence of Sir Hugh Owen, whose ancestor, in Queen Elizabeth's time, married an heiress of that family. There is a monument in the church of Saint Nicholas at Pembroke to the memory of John, son and heir of Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon in Anglesea, Knight, and Elizabeth, daughter and heir of George Wiriet of Orielson A. D. 1612. The same name occurs also in a monumental inscription at Tenbigh.

² The family name of Not, or Nott, still exists in Pembrokeshire.

should be known or heard by others. I do not presume to assign the cause of this event, except that it is said to be the presage of a sudden change from poverty to riches, or rather from affluence to poverty and distress; as it was found to be the case in both these instances: and it appears to me very extraordinary that these places could not be purified from such illusions, either by the sprinkling of holy water, or the assistance of any other religious ceremony; for the priests themselves, though defended by the crucifix, or the holy water, on devoutly entering the house, were equally subject to the same insults: from whence it appears that things pertaining to the sacraments, as well as the sacraments themselves, defend us from hurtful, but not from harmless things; from annoyances, but not from illusions. It is worthy of note, that in our time, a woman in Poictou was possessed by a demon, who, through her mouth, artfully and acutely disputed with the learned: he sometimes upbraided people with their secret actions, and those things which they wished not to hear; but when either the books of the Gospel, or the relics of saints were placed upon the mouth of the possessed, he fled to the lower part of her throat; and when they were removed thither, he descended into her belly: his appearance was indicated by certain inflations and convulsions of the parts which he possessed, and when the relics were again placed in the lower parts, he directly returned to the upper; at length when they brought the body of Christ, and gave it to the patient, the demon answered, "Ye fools, you are doing nothing, for what you give her is not the food of the body, but of the soul; and my power is confined to the body, not to the soul." But when those persons whom he had upbraided with their more secret actions, had

confessed, and returned from penance, he reproached them no more. "I have known, indeed," says he, "I have known, but now I know not (he spake this as it were a reproach to others), and I hold my tongue, for what I know, I know not: from which it appears, that after confession and penance, the demons either do not know the sins of men, or do not know them to their injury and disgrace; because, as Augustin says, if man conceals, God discovers; if man discovers, God conceals."

Some people are surprised that lightning often strikes our places of worship, and damages the crosses and images of him who was crucified, before the eyes of one who seeth all things, and permits these circumstances to happen: to whom I shall only answer with Ovid,

" Summa petit livor, perflant altissima venti,
Summa petunt dextrâ fulmina missa Jovis."

On the same subject, Peter Abelard, in the presence of Philip King of France, is said to have answered a Jew, who urged these and similar things against the faith. "It is true that the lightning descending from on high, directs itself most commonly to the highest object on earth, and to those most resembling its own nature: it never therefore injures your synagogues, because no man ever saw or heard of its falling upon a privy." An event worthy of note happened in our time in France. During a contention between some monks of the Cistercian order, and a certain soldier, about the limits of their fields and lands, a violent tempest in one night utterly destroyed and ruined the cultivated grounds of the monks, while the adjoining territory of the soldier remained

undamaged: on which occasion he insolently inveighed against the fraternity, and publicly asserted that divine vengeance had thus punished them for unlawfully keeping possession of his land; to which the abbot wittily replied, "It is by no means so; but that the soldier had more friends in that riding than the monastery;" and he clearly demonstrated that, on the contrary, the monks had more enemies in it.

In the province of Penbroch, another instance occurred, about the same time, of a spirit's appearing in the house of Elidore de Stackpole,³ not only sensibly but visibly, under the form of a red haired young man, who called himself Simon. Seizing the keys from the person to whom they were entrusted, he impudently assumed the steward's office, which he managed so prudently and providently, that all things seemed to abound under his care, and there was no deficiency in the house. Whatever the master or mistress secretly thought of having for their daily use or provision, he procured with wonderful agility, and without any previous directions, saying, you wished that to be done; and it shall be done for you. He was also well acquainted with their treasures and secret hoards, and sometimes upbraided them on that account; for as often as they seemed to act sparingly and avariciously, he used to say, "Why are you afraid to spend that heap of gold or silver, since your lives are of so short duration, and the money you

³ "There are two churches in Pembrokeshire called Stackpoole, one of which, called Stackpoole Elidor, derived its name probably from the Elidore de Stackpole mentioned in this chapter by Giraldus. It contains several ancient monuments, and amongst them the effigies of a cross-legged knight, which has been for many years attributed to the aforesaid Elidor.

so cautiously hoard up will never do you any service." He gave the choicest meat and drink to the rustics and hired servants, saying, that those persons should be abundantly supplied, by whose labours they were acquired. Whatever he determined should be done, whether pleasing or displeasing to his master or mistress (for, as we have said before, he knew all their secrets), he completed in his usual expeditious manner, without their consent. He never went to church, or uttered one Catholic word; he did not sleep in the house, but was ready at his office in the morning: he was at length observed by some of the family to hold his nightly converse near a mill and a pool of water; upon which discovery, he was summoned the next morning before the master of the house and his lady, and, receiving his discharge, delivered up the keys, which he had held for upwards of forty days. Being earnestly interrogated at his departure, who he was? he answered, " That he was begotten upon the wife of a rustic in that parish, by a demon, in the shape of her husband, naming the man, and his father-in-law, then dead, and his mother, still alive; the truth of which the woman, upon examination, openly avowed. A similar circumstance happened in our time in Dacia. A certain unknown priest paid court to the Archbishop, and from his obsequious behaviour and discreet conduct, his general knowledge of letters, and quick memory, soon contracted a great familiarity with him. Conversing one day with the Archbishop about ancient histories and unknown events, on which topic he most frequently heard him with pleasure; it happened that when the subject of their discourse was the incarnation of our Lord, he said amongst other things, " Before Christ assumed human nature, the demons

had great power over mankind, which at his coming, was much diminished; insomuch that they were dispersed on every side, and fled from his presence; some precipitated themselves into the sea; others into the hollow parts of trees, or the clefts of rocks, and I myself leaped into a well;" on which he blushed for shame, and took his departure. The Archbishop, and those who were with him, being greatly astonished at that speech, began to ask questions by turns, and form conjectures; and having waited some time (for he was expected to return soon), the Archbishop ordered some of his attendants to call him, but he was sought for in vain, and never re-appeared. Soon afterwards two priests, whom the Archbishop had sent to Rome, returned; and when this event was related to them, they began to inquire the day and hour on which the circumstance had happened; on being told it, they declared that on the very same day and hour, he had met them on the Alps, saying, that he had been sent to the court of Rome, on account of some business of his master's (meaning the Archbishop) which had lately occurred. And thus it was proved, that a demon had deluded them under a human form.

I ought not to omit mentioning the falcons of these parts, which are large and of a generous kind, and exercise a most severe tyranny over the river and land birds. King Henry the Second remained here some time, making preparations for his voyage to Ireland, and being desirous of taking the diversion of hawking, he accidentally saw a noble falcon perched upon a rock; going sideways round him, he let loose a fine Norway hawk which he carried on his left hand. The falcon, though at first slower in its flight, soaring up to a great height, burning with resentment, and in his

turn becoming the aggressor, rushed down upon his adversary with the greatest impetuosity, and by a violent blow struck the hawk dead at the feet of the king. From that time the king sent every year, about the breeding season, for the falcons* of this country, which are produced on the sea cliffs; nor can better be found in any part of his dominions. But let us now return to our Itinerary.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER XII.

I HAVE before had occasion to mention the conquest of Glamorganshire by Robert Fitzhamon, in the year 1090; and shortly after the Normans in great companies landed in Dyvet, or West Wales, and Cardigan, and builded castels there, and so began to inhabite the countrie upon the sea shoare. “ The Normans having gotten into their hands all the lands and livings of the nobilitie of England, began to spie out the commodities of Wales; and seeing that Robert Fitzhamon and the other knights that went with him, had sped so well, they made sute to the king to grant them the lands of the Welshmen. Whereupon the king thinking that to be the best waie for him, as well to encourage them to be the more willing to serve him, as also to provide for them at other men’s cost, granted to divers of his nobles sundrie countries in Wales, to hold

* Ramsey island near Saint David’s was always famous for its breed of falcons.

of him by knight's service, for which they did homage and swear fealtie unto him." Powel, p. 151.

Arnulph, younger son of Roger de Mountgomery, did his homage for Dyvet, and is said, by our author, to have first erected a slender fortress with stakes and turf at Penbroch, in the reign of King Henry the First, which, however, appears to have been so strong, as to have resisted the hostile attack of Cadogan ap Blethyn in 1092, and of several lords of North Wales, in 1094. At this period Giraldus de Windesor was governor of the castle; and is said, in the year 1108, to have rebuilt the castle of Penbrooke at a place called Congarth Vechan, "and brought thither all his household stuffe, and other goods, with his wife and children. Then also Cadogan ap Blethyn made a great feast in Christmas, and bad all the lords of the countrie to his house in Dyvet, among whom came Owen his sonne, who being at his father's house, and hearing the beautie of Nest, wife to Gerald Steward of Penbrooke, praised above all the women in the land, was mervelous desirous to see hir. And for so much as Gladys, wife to Rees ap Theodor, or Tewdor, and mother to Nest, was the daughter of Rywalhon ap Convyn, and coosen germane to Cadogan his father; he with a few, under the colour of freendship and coosenage, went to see hir; and finding the truth to surmount the fame, he came home all inflamed with hir love, and in that doting moode the same night returning thither againe, with a sort of wild companions, entred the castell privilie, and compassed the chamber about, and set the house on fire, wherewith Gerald and his wife awoke, and he would have issued out to know what the noise meant, but his wife, fearing some treason, staid him, and counselled him to go to the privie, and so

pulling up the boord, she helped him out that waie, and then she came to the chamber dore, and said that there was none but she and hir children, yet they entred in, and sought al about; but when they could not find him, they tooke hir and hir two sons, and a sonne and a daughter borne by a concubine to Gerald, and caried them awaie to Powys, and so burning the castell, they spoiled all the countrie. Now when Cadogan hard this he was verie sorie, and feared the king's displeasure, and forthwith went to Powys; and willed his sonne to send home to Gerald his wife and children with his goods; but Owen in no wise would depart with the woman, yet at hir request he sent to Gerald his children againe. Some years afterwards Gerald, with his Flemings, met Owen ap Cadogan in the field of battle, and revenged the wrongs committed to him and his family. Now when Gerald and the Flemings understood that Owen was there with so little companie, they thought it a meete time to be revenged of their old wrongs, and so pursued him to the woods. Owen being warned by his men, that a great number pursued him, and counselled to make hast awaie, would not so doo, bicause he understood them that followed to be the king's freends, and nothing doubted of them. But when they came nigh, they began to shoot at his men, who would have had Owen to flee, but he turned manfullie to his enimies, and encouraged his men to fight, affirming, that although their enimies were seaven to one, yet they were but Flemings, and such as feared their names, and were good for nothing but to emptie cuppes, and with that set upon them couragiouslie. And it chanced that at the first meeting, Owen was stricken with an arrowe to the heart, and slaine." Powel, p. 164 and 181.

Giraldus de Windsor—Walter Fitz-Other, at the time of the general survey of England by William the Conqueror, was Castellan of Windsor, Warden of the Forests in Berkshire, and possessed several lordships in the counties of Middlesex, Hampshire, and Buckinghamshire, which Dominus Otherus is said to have held in the time of Edward the Confessor. William, the eldest son of Walter, took the surname of Windsor, from his father's office, and was ancestor to the Lords Windsor, who have since been created Earls of Plymouth: and from Gerald, brother to William, the Gerards, Fitzgeralds, and many other families are lineally descended. The Gerald here mentioned by Giraldus is sometimes surnamed de Windsor, and also Fitz-Walter, i. e. the son of Walter; having slain (as before stated) Owen, son of Cadogan ap Blethyn, chief Lord of Cardiganshire, he was made President of the county of Pembroke. By his wife Nest, the daughter of Rhys, son of Theodor the Great, and sister of Gruffydh Prince of South Wales, he had three sons, William, Maurice, and David, the latter of whom was Bishop of Saint David's in the year 1149, died A. D. 1176, and was succeeded by Peter de Leia, whom I have before had occasion to mention. William Fitz-Gerald, the eldest son, held, as the inheritance of his mother, the castle of Carew in Pembrokeshire, and from his son Odo descended the numerous family of the Carews.^d

Maurice Fitz-Gerald, his second son, was one of the adventurers with Richard Strongbow Earl of Pembroke, in the conquest of Ireland, A. D. 1170, as he had been with Robert Fitz-Stephen, when he landed two years before in that country, and took Wexford,

^d Odo de Carrio or Carew married the daughter of Richard Fitz-Tancred, a man of power in Pembrokeshire.

where the first colony of English settled : the said Maurice remaining there, became ancestor to several great and noble families in that kingdom.

Penbroch—The present castle at Penbroch differs widely from the slender fortress here described by our author, as being first erected by Arnulph de Mountgomery ; it is spacious, well built, and strongly situated on a rock overhanging a branch of Milford Haven. It still preserves much of its Norman character ; the lofty round tower with an arched roof of stone, is a most grand and conspicuous object, rearing its majestic summit high above every other part of the castle, which appears to have had three stories besides the ground floor. The walls are nearly fourteen feet thick, and the tower is in height about sixty. A natural cavern, called the Wogan, which penetrates for a considerable way under the castle, and opens to the river, merits the traveller's attention. There are evident traces of three of the gates which formed a communication through the city walls, to the interior of the town. The north gate leading to the ferry remains entire ; the east and west gates are down ; on the southern side stands a tower, and close to it a road into the town, which I think may probably have been the southern entrance. The space between the northern and western gates was nearly occupied by the castle : from the north to the east, the line of the walls ran parallel with the river, or rather with a large pool, at one end of which, a very perfect round building, called Bernard's Tower, still remains ; on the southern side also, the line of the walls, which at intervals were strengthened by round towers, may easily be traced : the ground on this side is low and marshy, and bears strong marks of having been formerly covered by the tide.



See Book's House de St.

W. Pyne Engr.

FENNICOCH.

London: Marsh, 1800. By William M. Fox. Illustrated by Street & Co.

In the suburbs of Penbroch or Monkton, was a Benedictine cell. Arnulph de Mountgomery having given the church of Saint Nicholas within his castle at Penbroch, and twenty caracutes of land, in the year 1098, to the abbey of Saint Martin at Sees in Normandy; a Benedictine priory dedicated to the same Saint was shortly afterwards erected here, and made a cell to the foreign abbey. William and Walter Mareschal, Earls of Pembroke, were benefactors to it. King Edward the Third seized it into his own hands, when he was engaged in warfare with France, and King Henry the Fourth restored it; but being again taken into possession, it was granted in the reign of King Henry the Sixth to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, who gave it as a cell to the abbey at Saint Alban's, and the king confirmed the said gift. This church, still appropriated to divine service, bears the marks of its former opulence and antiquity, but contains no monuments of a very early date; neither do the churches of Saint Mary or Saint Michael within the town: in the tower of the former a great breach appears, said to have been occasioned by the bombardment of Cromwell: the Norman architecture in the latter bespeaks an early foundation.

The town is thus described by Leland in his Itinerary:—"Penbroke standith upon an arme of Milford, the wich about a mile beyond the towne creeketh in so that it almost peninsulatith the towne that standith on a veri maine rokki ground. The towne is waulid and hath 3 gates by est, west and north, of the wich the est gate is fairest and strongest, having afore it a compasid towr not rofid, in the entering whereof is a portcolys ex solido ferro. The castel stondith hard by the waul on a hard rokke, and is veri larg and strong, being doble wardid. In the utter ward I saw the chaumbre

wher King Henri the vii. was borne, in knowlege wherof a chymeney is new made with the armes and badges of King Henri the vii. In the botom of the great stronge rownd tower in the inner ward is a marvelous vault caullid the Hogan: the toppe of this round towr is gatherid with a rofe of stone almost in conum, the top whereof is keverid with a flat mille stone.—In the towne be 2 parochie churchis, and one in the suburbe.—Montaine (Monkton) a celle of Blak Monkes in the suburbe is suppressid.—The towne hath bene welle build, and the est suburbe hath been almost as great as the toun, but now it is totally yn ruine.” (Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 79.)

Maenor Pyrr—now known by the name of Manorbeer—is a small village on the sea coast between Tenbigh and Pembroke, with the remaining shell of a large castle. Our author has given a very classical, and, I think, far fetched etymology to this castle and the adjoining island, in calling them the Mansion and Island of Pyrrhus: a much more natural and congenial conjecture may be made in supposing Maenor Pyrr to be derived from Maenor, a Manor, and Pyrr the plural of Por, a Lord; i. e. the Manor of the Lords, and, consequently, Inys Pyrr, the Island of the Lords. As no mention whatever is made of this castle in the Welsh Chronicle, I am inclined to think it was only a castellated mansion, and therefore considered of no military importance in those days of continued warfare throughout Wales. On every account, it is one of the most interesting spots in our Author's Itinerary. It was the property of the Barri family, and the birth-place of Giraldus: in the parish church the sepulchral effigy of a near relation, perhaps a brother, is still extant, in good preservation. Our author has evidently made a digression in order



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to describe this place, which he has done in a more diffuse, and perhaps partial a manner, than any other spot during the course of his journey:—"Non itaque mirandum, non veniâ indignum, si natale solum, genialeque territorium, profusioribus laudum titulis auctor extulerit." However prejudiced Giraldus may have been in giving Manorbeer the decided superiority over every other part of Wales; the just tribute of accuracy is due to him for his topographical description of its situation and natural advantages. The mill, fishponds, springs, &c. may be traced at this present time.

In the sixth chapter of this book, our Author tells us that the Barri family, who inhabited the maritime parts of South Wales, derived their name from Barri Island; and alludes probably to this their family residence at Manorbeer. The barbarous and uncivilized manners of the times required that each baronial mansion should be well suited for defence in time of need; and for that reason we see so many castellated buildings throughout the Principality, in the construction of which, strength and solidity were frequently considered more than ornament and external decoration. Such is Manorbeer; for I could not perceive one ancient window in the whole circuit of its walls. Leland, speaking of this castle, says, "Manopir, i. e. Mansio Pirrhi, is now communely cawllled Manober, a town of howsbondry, the parsonage whereof is impropred to Christes College yn Cambridge. The ruines of Pirrhus Castel there, many walles yet standyng hole, do openly appere; this place is 3 myles from Tynby, and almost as much from Pembroke, but not in the hie way, for yt standeth nere the shore of the Severn se, and agaynst this towne, or betwyxt yt and Tinby lyith Inispir, i. e. Insula Pirrhi, alias Caldey:" and in another place he adds, "more than half way

betwixt Penbroke and Tinbigh apperid the Castel of Mainorpirrhe a mile of on the right hande. It standith as it were betwixt to pointing hilletes, betwene the wich the Severn se gulfith in almost the length of a quarter of a mile."* I find in Dugdale that the island of Caldey was granted by King Henry the First to Robert, son of Martin de Tours, Lord of Kemeys: which he gave to his mother, who bestowed it on the monks of Tyrone established at Saint Dogmaels near Cardigan.

Penbroch—By following the text of Giraldus, I have been inadvertently led into an historical error respecting the *first* foundation of a castle at this place. He says, "*Primus hoc castrum Arnulphus de Montgomery sub Anglorum Rege Henrico Primo, ex virgis et cespite tenui, satis exile construxit.*" The quotations I have given, p. 209, from the Welsh Chronicle, clearly prove that there was a fortress at Penbroch *long before* the commencement of King Henry's reign, A. D. 1100. Arnulph de Montgomery did homage for Dyved or West Wales, A. D. 1092, at which time he probably erected a fortress to secure his newly acquired territory; and which proved sufficiently strong to withstand the attacks of Cadogan ap Blethyn in that same year; and of the Welsh in 1094. At this last period, Gerald de Windsor was keeper and steward of the castle; so that its *first* construction took place in the *sixth* year of the reign of William Rufus; though it was rebuilt by the said Gerald in the *eighth* year of King Henry the First's reign.

* Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 25, 80.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAMROS AND NIWEGAL.

FROM Haverford we proceeded on our journey to Menevia, distant from thence about twelve miles, and passed through Camros, where, in the reign of King Stephen, the relations and friends of a distinguished young man, Giraldus, son of William, revenged his death, by a too severe retaliation on the men of Ros. We then passed over Niwegal sands, at which place (during the winter that King Henry the Second spent in Ireland), as well as in almost all the other western ports, a very remarkable circumstance occurred. The sandy shores of South Wales being laid bare by the extraordinary violence of a storm, the surface of the earth, which had been covered for many ages, re-appeared, and discovered the trunks of trees cut off, standing in the very sea itself, the strokes of the hatchet appearing as if made only yesterday: the soil was very black, and the wood like ebony; by a wonderful revolution, the road for ships became impassable, and looked not like a shore, but like a grove cut down perhaps at the time of the deluge, or not long after, but certainly in very remote times, being by degrees consumed and swallowed up by the violence and encroachments of the sea. During the same tempest many sea fish were driven, by the violence of the wind and waves, upon dry land. We were well lodged at Saint David's, by Peter, bishop of the see, a liberal man, who had hitherto accompanied us during the whole of our journey.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER XIII.

CAMROS—A small village, containing nothing worthy of remark, excepting a large tumulus. It appears by this route of the crusaders, that the ancient road to Menevia or Saint David's led through Camros, whereas the present turnpike road lies a mile and a half to the left of it: it then descends to Niwegal Sands, and leaving Roch castle* on the right, passes near the picturesque little harbour of Solvach, situated in a deep and narrow cove, surrounded by high rocks.

Although Giraldus does not particularly specify the sort of trees found at low water on Niwegal sands, yet his annotator expressly says, that in other parts of Wales large trunks of fir trees have been found in a perfect state of soundness and good preservation. This assertion, as well as several other co-incident circumstances which I shall mention, seem to contradict the words of Cæsar, who, in his Description of Britain, says, "*Materia cujusque generis ut in Galliâ est, præter fagum et abietem.*" As all the British words for the beech are clearly of Roman derivation, *faigh*, *faghe*, or *faydh*, that tree may perhaps have been introduced into Britain with the Roman colonies; but with regard to the fir, the case is otherwise, for many of its names are purely British. Mr. Whitaker, in his History of Manchester, treats this subject with great learning and precision; he

* Roch castle is built upon one of those insulated land rocks, which arise out of the plain to a considerable height, and are very frequent in this part of Wales.

says, " Among the many Roman names for the fir in the British language, there are three which are purely and absolutely British. The Scotch distinguish it by the British appellation of Gius; the Irish by the British appellation of Giumhus; and the Welsh by the British appellation of Tynniduydh. Had the fir tree been originally introduced into the fields of Britain by the Romans, all the British appropriated appellations of it must have been, as some evidently are, the mere derivatives of the Roman abies—T-aban—S-ibuydh—S-apin—and S-abin: and the existence of one appropriated British appellation for the fir, is a strong argument in itself, that the tree was not introduced by the Romans, but that it was originally British." Firs actually appear as early as the third century, in the unromanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland, as the acknowledged aborigines of the country, being frequently mentioned in the poems of the ancient bards of each country. The fir is also often discovered in the mosses, together with the birch and oak, and in such mosses as appear to the present period actually traversed by the roads of the Romans, particularly in that of Failsworth, where Mr. Whitaker has himself dug it up three yards under the very gravel which formed the ridge of the Roman causeway.^f

^f Evelyn Sylva, p. 283.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

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CORRECTIONS.

Page xxxviii. line 6, for *auhtor*, read *author*.

liii. notes, for *Domine*, read *Domini*.

lvi. A. D. 1203. It is to be observed that I have here followed the chronology of the life and actions of Giraldus, as printed by Warton in his *Anglia Sacra*, who says that he resigned his preferment to his nephew, *William de Barri*; but that the name of this young man was *Philip* (as stated p. xlviii.) these words of Giraldus will sufficiently testify, "*filium suum natu juniorem, cui et in baptismo nomen patrum dederat,*" &c. &c. Warton *Anglia Sacra*, Tom 2. p. 609.

lxxi. line 17, erase one of the words *it*.

xcii. notes, for *port*, read *post*.

xciii. Ditto, for *Imperatori xv*. read *xvi*.

c. Ditto, for *Seicant*, read *Scient*.

cxxxiv. Ditto, for *posuerant*, read *posuerunt*.

cl. line 6, for *call*, read *called*.

clxvii. line 20, for *found*, read *joined*.

16. line 22, for *Glanvill*, read *Glanville*.

21. line 3, between the words *some* and *at*, insert *time*.

127. line 10, for *it* read *is*.

169. line 15, for *instestines*, read *intestines*.

195. line 12, between the words *is* and *handsome* insert *a*.

DA Giralduſ Cambrenſis
725 The itineray of
G52 Archbiſhop Baldwin through
v.1 Wales

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